

USUAL AND UNUSUAL CONCLUDING FORMULAS IN 2 KINGS 13–14: A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD GREEK AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR THE LITERARY HISTORY*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Masoretic text of 2 Kings 13–14 is full of several unsettled problems. First, the concluding formula of Israelite king Jehoash is repeated twice in 2 Kgs 13,12-13 and in 2 Kgs 14,15-16. While the latter is a usual concluding formula, the former is unusual. Moreover, the formulas in the Masoretic text (MT) differ from those in the Codex Vaticanus (G^B). Finally, the Lucianic text (G^L) has the narrative organized in a different way. In order to address these problems this paper first presents a short history of scholarly research concerning the repeated concluding formulas. The comparison of the textual witnesses serves as the point of departure for the reconstruction of the Old Greek text (OG). On the basis of this analysis I offer some remarks on the textual and literary history of 2 Kings 13–14.

II. PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTIONS

Let us start with a presentation of the problem the scholars have been discussing for more than a century, namely, the concluding regnal résumés ¹ of Israelite king Jehoash (800-784 BC) ² in the MT.

The text of 2 Kings 13–14 presents a synchronistic history of three Israelite kings (Jehoahaz, Jehoash, and Jeroboam II) and two Judahite kings (Joash and Amazia). The presentation of the Israelite kings starts

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¹ The formulae and the regnal résumés have been an object of numerous scholarly discussions; see, for example, S.R. BIN-NUN, “Formulas from Royal Records of Israel and of Judah”, *VT* 18 (1968) 414-432; A.R.W. GREEN, “Regnal Formulas in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Books of Kings”, *JNES* 42 (1983) 167-180; B. HALPERN – D. VANDERHOOF, “The Editions of Kings in the 7th-6th Centuries B.C.E.”, *HUCA* 62 (1991) 179-244; N. NA’AMAN, “Death Formulae and the Burial Place of the Kings of the House of David”, *Bib* 85 (2004) 245-254; G. STEUERNAGEL – U. SCHULZE, “Zur Aussage עַם־אֲבֹתָיו יִשְׁכֵּב + עַם־אֲבֹתָיו in den Büchern der Könige sowie in II Chronik”, *ZAW* 120 (2008) 267-275; M.K. HOM, “On the Use of עַם־אֲבֹתָיו יִשְׁכֵּב + עַם־אֲבֹתָיו Formulae in the Book of Kings”, *BN* 172 (2017) 3-12.

² According to M. COGAN, *1 Kings*. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB 10; New York 2001) 508.

with Jehoahaz (2 Kgs 13,1-9) and continues with Jehoash (2 Kgs 13,10-25). The reign of Jehoash is described in the form of a fixed pattern: the introductory and closing regnal résumés are followed by a long addendum on the interaction between Elisha and Jehoash and the defeat of Aram. Verse 14,1 moves the narrative to the kingdom of Judah reporting on the reign of the king Amaziah (14,1-22). The report on Amaziah also follows the same pattern: an introductory regnal résumé is followed by a description of the major events in his reign, in particular, the Judahite wars with Edom and Israel, and a closing regnal résumé with a short addendum on a conspiracy against Amaziah and his building activities. The narrative concludes with a report on Jeroboam II (14,23-29). As was the case in the previous section, Jeroboam II's narrative opens and closes with regnal résumés (14,23-24.28-29) that frame a short theological reflection on Jeroboam II's heroic deeds (14,25-27).

	<i>Judah: Amaziah (798-769 BC)</i>		<i>Israel: Jehoash (800-784 BC)</i>
		Introductory regnal résumé	In the thirty-seventh year of King Joash of Judah, Jehoash son of Jehoahaz began to reign over Israel in Samaria; he reigned sixteen years. ¹¹ He also did what was evil in the sight of the LORD; he did not depart from all the sins of Jeroboam son of Nebat, which he caused Israel to sin, but he walked in them. (2 Kgs 13,10-11; NRSV)
		First concluding regnal résumé	Now the rest of the acts of Joash , and all that he did, as well as the might with which he fought against King Amaziah of Judah, are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel? So Joash slept with his ancestors, and Jeroboam sat upon his throne; Joash was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel. (2 Kgs 13,12-13; NRSV)

	<i>Judah: Amaziah (798-769 BC)</i>		<i>Israel: Jehoash (800-784 BC)</i>
		Addendum	<i>Elisha story (2 Kgs 13,14-21) Liberation of Israel (2 Kgs 13,22-25)</i>
Introductory regnal résumé	In the second year of King Joash son of Joahaz of Israel, King Amaziah son of Joash of Judah, began to reign. He was twenty-five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned twenty-nine years in Jerusalem. His mother's name was Jehoaddin of Jerusalem. He did what was right in the sight of the LORD, yet not like his ancestor David; in all things he did as his father Joash had done. But the high places were not removed; the people still sacrificed and made offerings on the high places. (2 Kgs 14,1-4; NRSV)		
Events	<i>Wars with Edom and Israel (2 Kgs 14,5-14)</i>		
		Second concluding regnal résumé	Now the rest of the acts that Jehoash did, his might, and how he fought with King Amaziah of Judah, are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel? ¹⁶ Jehoash slept with his ancestors, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; then his son Jeroboam succeeded him. (2 Kgs 14,15-16; NRSV)
		New synchronis- tic formula	King Amaziah son of Joash of Judah lived fifteen years after the death of King Jehoash son of Jehoahaz of Israel. (2 Kgs 14,17; NRSV)

	<i>Judah: Amaziah (798-769 BC)</i>		<i>Israel: Jehoash (800-784 BC)</i>
Concluding regnal résumé	Now the rest of the deeds of Amaziah , are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Judah (2 Kgs 14,18; NRSV)		
Addendum	They made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish. But they sent after him to Lachish, and killed him there. They brought him on horses; he was buried in Jerusalem with his ancestors in the city of David. All the people of Judah took Azariah, who was sixteen years old, and made him king to succeed his father Amaziah. He rebuilt Elath and restored it to Judah, after King Amaziah slept with his ancestors. (2 Kgs 14,19-22; NRSV)		

The chart presented above shows that the normal pattern of the synchronistic description of Amaziah's reign is suddenly interrupted by an insertion (14,15-17) that repeats the concluding formula of Jehoash which had already been presented in 13,12-13. Furthermore, verse 14,17 has another synchronizing formula. The repetition of the regnal résumé of the same king and the synchronizing formula of 14,17 have no parallel in the Books of Kings, which has led scholars to ask: Why do verses 14,15-16 repeat the closing formula about the Israelite king Jehoash that had already appeared in 13,12-13? Is one of the formulas a later insertion and, if so, when and why was it added?

These questions generated multiple theories³. Observing the unusual wording of the first concluding formula (יִשְׁבַּע עַל-כִּסְאוֹ) versus the

³ For a complete list of formulae, see STEUERNAGEL – SCHULZE, “Zur Aussage + יִשְׁבַּע in den Büchern der Könige sowie in II Chronik”, 269-272. This formula, even though attributed to an Israelite king, is the closest equivalent of the formula used for the Judahite kings; HOM, “On the Use of יִשְׁבַּע + עַל-כִּסְאוֹ and קָבַר Formulae in the Book of Kings”, 9.

usual formula (וַיִּמְלֹךְ יִרְבֵּעָם בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו), the different spelling of the name Jehoash (יהואש and יואש) and the absence of the verses 13,12-13 in the G^L, most scholars proposed that the first concluding formula (13,12-13) is a later addition⁴. This proposal was presented with different nuances. Thus, M. Cogan and H. Tadmor proposed that the description of the Jehoash-Amaziah war was originally a northern story that ended with a regnal résumé. When the story was moved to its present position, the concluding formula in 14,15-16 remained and Jehoash's reign needed a new concluding formula that was added after 13,11⁵. J. Gray had advanced a similar view two decades before, suggesting that verses 14,15-17 were "an excerpt from the annals of the northern kingdom and stood originally after the account of the revival of Israel under Joash at the end of c. 13 [...] After the transference of 14.8-14 with the Deuteronomic epilogue on Joash (14.15 f.), a later hand supplemented the deficiency of the epilogue in c. 13 by inserting 13.12 f., rather anomalously, immediately after the Deuteronomic introduction to the reign of Joash"⁶.

Some scholars, however, expressed their doubts about the proposal that the first concluding formula (13,12-13) is a later addition⁷. Thus, M. Sweeney concluded that since verses 13,12-13 contain the verb "to seat" instead of "to become king" this formula might reflect an earlier version⁸. B. Stade and F. Schwally thought that both concluding formulas (13,12-13 and 14,15-16) are later additions and originally there was only one concluding formula after 13,25, as in the G^L⁹. E. Würthwein reached a similar conclusion and added that the original version of the formula was the verb "to become a king" as in 14,16 of the MT¹⁰. The differences of versions in 2 Kings 13–14 and their meaning have been recently studied

⁴ C.F. KEIL – F. DELITZSCH, *The Books of the Kings* (Edinburgh 1872) 383; R. KITTEL – W. NOWACK, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Göttingen 1900) 258; C.F. BURNEY, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings with an Introduction and Appendix* (Oxford 1903) 317; J.A. MONTGOMERY, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh 1951) 434; J. GRAY, *I & II Kings. A Commentary* (OTL; London 1964) 540; G.H. JONES, *I and 2 Kings. Based on the Revised Standard Version* (Grand Rapids, MI – London 1984) 500; G. HENTSCHEL, *2 Könige* (Würzburg 1985) 58-59; V. FRITZ, *I & 2 Kings. A Continental Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA 2003) 311; M. NOBILE, *I-2 Re* (Milano 2010) 361-362.

⁵ M. COGAN – H. TADMOR, *II Kings. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 11; Garden City, NY 1988) 145. See also JONES, *I and 2 Kings*, 512; M.A. SWEENEY, *I & II Kings* (OTB; Louisville, KY 2007) 366.

⁶ GRAY, *I & II Kings*, 536-537.

⁷ W. BRUEGGEMANN, *I & 2 Kings* (Macon, GA 2000) 442.

⁸ SWEENEY, *I & II Kings*, 358. See also A. ŠANDA, *Das Zweite Buch der Könige* (Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 9.2; Münster 1912) 154.

⁹ B. STADE – F. SCHWALLY, *The Books of Kings. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text* (The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; Leipzig 1904) 248.

¹⁰ E. WÜRTHWEIN, *Die Bücher der Könige*. 1. Kön. 17 – 2. Kön. 25 (Göttingen 1984) 363.

by M. Richelle in his *memoire* written at the EBAF and in a revised form written in English ¹¹. Both will be discussed below.

Since no consensus has been reached about these formulas, let us start with a detailed examination of the textual witnesses. For reasons of clarity, I will examine the textual witnesses independently.

The Masoretic Text

The MT has two concluding regnal résumés for King Jehoash. The first concluding formula (1 Kgs 13,12-13) is located in its “natural” place, i.e. in the section describing the reign of Israelite king Jehoash (13,10-25). Thus, the first formula separates the introduction (13,10-11) from a long addendum (13,14-25). The second formula and a new synchronistic formula (14,15-17) unexpectedly appear amid the description of Amaziah’s reign and split the account in two parts (14,1-14.18-22a). There are a few indications that we should pay attention to both 13,12-13 and 14,15-16.

The formula in 2 Kgs 13,13 contains the phrase *ישב על־כסאו* “Jeroboam sat on his throne” (Type I), whereas 2 Kgs 14,16 reads *וימלך ירבעם בנו* “Jeroboam his son reigned in his stead” (Type II). The difference between the formulas is furthermore underscored by two variants of Joash’s name (underlined below). The first parts of the formula (verses 13,12 and 14,15) display some differences in syntax and words (in italics). The order of segments in the second part of the formula differs: verse 14,16 follows a normal order of segments (cf. 1 Kgs 16,6,28; 2 Kgs 10,35; etc.), whereas the segments in verse 2 Kgs 13,13 are organized in an inverted order. Finally, the description of the accession to the throne is different as well. In sum, the differences between 13,12-13 and 14,15-16 as presented in the MT provide reasons to doubt that one of the formulas is a meaningless repetition or some kind of scribal error ¹².

<i>First concluding formula</i> (2 Kgs 13,12-13) <i>Type I</i>	<i>Second concluding formula</i> (2 Kgs 14,15-16) <i>Type II</i>
<p>¹² ויתר דברי <u>יואש</u> וכל־אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר נלחם עם אמציה מלך־יהודה הלוא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל</p>	<p>¹⁵ ויתר דברי <u>יהואש</u> אשר עשה וגבורתו ואשר נלחם עם אמציהו מלך־יהודה הלא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל</p>

¹¹ M. RICHELLE, *Le testament d’Élisée*. Texte massorétique et Septante en 2 Rois 13.10-14.16 (Pendé 2010); IDEM, “Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14-21 (MT and LXX): Transposition of a Pericope and Multiple Literary Editions in 2 Kings”, *Making the Biblical Text*. Textual Studies in the Hebrew and the Greek Bible (ed. I. HIMBAZA) (OBO 275; Fribourg 2015) 62-81.

¹² The Syro-hexapla follows the MT, and so does the Peshita and the Vulgate.

<i>First concluding formula</i> (2 Kgs 13,12-13) <i>Type I</i>	<i>Second concluding formula</i> (2 Kgs 14,15-16) <i>Type II</i>
<p>13 וישכב יואש עם־אבתיו וירבעם ישב על־כסאו ויקבר יואש בשמרון עם מלכי ישראל:</p>	<p>16 וישכב יהואש עם־אבתיו ויקבר בשמרון עם מלכי ישראל וימלך ירבעם בנו תחתיו:</p>
<p>12 And the rest of the acts of <u>Joash</u>, and all that he did, and his mighty exploit(s) that he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel?</p> <p>13 So <u>Joash</u> slept with his fathers, and Jeroboam sat upon his throne; <u>Joash</u> was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel. (author's translation)</p>	<p>15 And the rest of the acts <i>that</i> <u>Jehoash</u> did, and his mighty exploit(s) <i>and how</i> he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel?</p> <p>16 So <u>Jehoash</u> slept with his ancestors, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; then his son Jeroboam <u>reigned in his stead</u>. (author's translation)</p>

Codex Vaticanus (G^B)

The G^B has the same order of events and the location of the concluding formulas as the MT. However, the text of the G^B is significantly different. The first major difference concerns verse 13,12. The G^B reads: “his mighty acts which he performed (together) with Amaziah king of Judah” instead of “his mighty exploit(s) that he fought against Amaziah king of Judah” as in the MT. The G^B, thus, does not follow the MT in describing a war between the two kings but rather a collaboration between the two. Moreover, verse 13,13 is also significantly different in the G^B (in gray). There are also some minor differences. Thus, the G^B reads ונבורתו as a plural αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ in 13,12, but as a singular in 14,15. The G^B also harmonizes the name Joash in 14,15-16 and uses the same proper name Ἰωας for יואש and יהואש (underlined below). Moreover, the syntax of verse 14,15 is partially changed (in gray and italics).

<i>First concluding formula</i> <i>Type I</i>	
<i>MT (2 Kgs 13,12-13)</i>	<i>G^B (4 Kgdms 13,12-13)</i>
<p>12 ויתר דברי יואש וכל־אשר עשה ונבורתו אשר נלחם עם אמציה מלך־יהודה הלוא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל</p>	<p>12 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωας καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ἃς ἐποίησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσιου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ</p>

First concluding formula

Type I

MT (2 Kgs 13,12-13)	G ^B (4 Kgdms 13,12-13)
<p>13 וישכב יואש עם־אבתיו וירבעם ישב על־כסאו ויקבר יואש בשמרון עם מלכי ישראל:</p>	<p>13 και ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωᾶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐκάθισεν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰσραὴλ</p>
<p>12 And the rest of the acts of <u>Joash</u>, and all that he did, and his mighty exploit(s) that he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel? 13 So <u>Joash</u> slept with his fathers, and Jeroboam sat upon his throne; <u>Joash</u> was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel. (The author's translation)</p>	<p>12 And the rest of the things of Joash, and all that he did and his mighty deeds which he performed (together) with Amaziah king of Judah, are these things not written in a book of things of the days for the kings of Israel? 13 And Joash slept with his fathers and Jeroboam sat (down) with his fathers and in Samaria with the brothers of Israel. (The author's translation)</p>

Second concluding formula

Type II

MT (2 Kgs 14,15-16)	G ^B (4 Kgdms 14,15-16) (thus also G ^A)
<p>15 ויתר דברי יהואש אשר עשה וגבורתו ואשר נלחם עם אמציהו מלך־יהודה הלא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל 16 וישכב יהואש עם־אבתיו ויקבר בשמרון עם מלכי ישראל וימלך ירבעם בנו תחתיו:</p>	<p>15 και τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωᾶς ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐπολέμησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσειου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραὴλ 16 και ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωᾶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἱεροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ</p>
<p>15 And the rest of the acts that <u>Jehoash</u> did, and his mighty exploit(s) and how he fought against Amaziah king of Judah, are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel? 16 So <u>Jehoash</u> slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel; then his son Jeroboam reigned in his stead. (The author's translation)</p>	<p>15 And the rest of the things of <u>Joash</u>, how much he did in his might, which (referring to things) he fought with Amaziah king of Judah, behold are these (things) not written in a book of things of the days for the kings of Israel? 16 And Joash slept with his fathers and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel and Jeroboam reigned in his stead. (The author's translation)</p>

It is tempting to consider verses 13,12-13 in the G^B as a corruption of the MT due to haplography (ἐποίησεν ... ἐποίησεν and μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ... μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ). Furthermore, the phrase μετὰ Αμεσσιου can be derived from the MT that has the preposition עַם, The root לָחֵם normally takes the preposition בַּ to express “to fight against someone”. However, in some cases the verb takes the preposition עַם to convey “to fight against” (2 Sam 10,17; Josh 9,2; Judg 11,4, etc.). Hence the preposition μετὰ may be a literary translation of the Hebrew עַם.

However, there are signs in the G^B that warn us against a rushed conclusion that all the differences between the MT and the G^B can be explained as a corruption of the MT. First, the MT of 2 Kgs 13,12 has an awkward syntax: וגבורתו אשר נלחם עם אמציא מלך־יהודה “his mighty exploit(s) that he fought against Amaziah king of Judah”. In all other cases when the syntagma גבורתו occurs, it takes the verb עָשָׂה (1 Kgs 15,23; 16,27; 22,46; 2 Kgs 20,20); only in 2 Kgs 13,12; 14,15.28 does it take the verb נָלַחַם. Thus, the G^B having the verb ἐποίησεν would represent a more usual syntax. Second, all the Greek manuscripts, including Hexaplaric versions, as well as Ethiopic and Syriac versions support the G^B reading the verb “to do” instead of “to fight” in 13,12. Third, verse 13,13 in the G^B does not mention the burial of Jehoash and enthronement of Jeroboam, but rather that Jeroboam lived in Samaria, a kind of sitting with, i.e. cohabitation, aiming at a certain goal (cf. Ruth 2,23; 1 Sam 27,3; Ps 25,4). Fourth, the second μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ occurs only in the G^B, whereas the other manuscripts (Alexandrinus, Syriac, Armenean, Vulgate, and Ethiopic) read ἐν τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ.

Codex Alexandrinus (G^A)

The G^A follows the order of event as in the MT. However, when the G^B differs from the MT, then the G^A sometimes follows the MT, sometimes the G^B. In particular, as for the formula of Type II, in verse 13,12 the G^A follows the G^B (it substitutes the verb “to fight” with “to do”); however, in verse 13,13 the G^A follows the MT. As for the formula of Type I the G^A follows the G^B, namely, it harmonizes the name and uses for יִרְאֵשׁ and יְהוֹאָשׁ the same proper name Ἰωαῶς, and in 14,15 it follows the syntax of the G^B (see above).

Lucianic text (G^L)

The G^L contains many more differences that regard, above all, the reorganization of chapters 13 and 14. The chart below shows the major differences in the order of the narrative (in italics) ¹³.

<i>King</i>	<i>Event</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>G^L</i>
Jehoahaz	Introductory formula	13,1-2	13,1-2
	Events	13,3-7	13,3-7
	<i>Covenant</i>	<i>Not present</i>	<i>13,8</i>
	Concluding formula (Type II)	13,8-9	13,9-10
Jehoash	Introductory formula	13,10-11	13,11-12
	<i>Concluding formula (Type I)</i>	<i>13,12-13</i>	<i>Not present</i>
	Elisha addendum	13,14-21	13,13-20
	<i>Covenant</i>	<i>13, 23</i>	<i>Not present</i>
	<i>Captives</i>	<i>Not present</i>	<i>13,22</i>
	Hazael and Aphek	13,22-25	13,23-24
	<i>Concluding formula (Type II)</i>	<i>Not present</i>	<i>13,25-26</i>
Amaziah	Introductory formula	14,1-4	14,1-4
	Events	14,5-14	14,5-14
	<i>Jehoash concluding formula</i>	<i>14,15-16 (Type II)</i>	<i>14,16 (abbreviated Type I)</i>
	New synchronistic formula	14,17	14,17
	Amaziah concluding formula	14,18-21	14,18-21
	Addendum	14,22a	14,22a
	Another synchronizing	14,22b	14,22b

This comparison shows that not only the events but also the formulas are exchanged and located in different places (in bold) ¹⁴. The first major difference between the concluding formulas in the MT and the

¹³ There are also some changes that are not relevant to the focus of this paper. For example, the G^L has a partially different description of the Aphek episode. For an erudite analysis, see S. HASEGAWA, "The Conquests of Hazael in 2 Kings 13:22 in the Antiochian Text", *JBL* 133 (2014) 61-76.

¹⁴ Unfortunately, leaves XXI 2-7 of the *Vindobonensis palimpsest* are missing, and we can only hypothesize that the *Vetus Latina* had the following sequence: 2 Kgs 13,10-11.22-25. However, it is impossible to ascertain whether the concluding summary in the *Vindobonensis palimpsest* was located as it is in the MT, i.e. after verse 13,11, or as it is in the G^L, i.e. after 13,25.

G^L regards the reign of Israelite king Jehoash. The unusual concluding formula containing the verb יָשַׁב (Type I) is not in the G^L after the introductory formulas as it is in the MT, but there is a usual concluding formula (Type II) in 13,25-26 in the G^L, i.e. after verse 13,25 of the MT. Moreover, the G^L does not have verse 14,15, and verse 14,16 has an unusual formula (Type I) whereas the MT has the usual formula (Type II).

In sum, the analysis of the G^L showed that the formulas in the G^L and in the MT are exchanged. The concluding formula in 14,16 of the G^L is abbreviated and corresponds to that occurring in 13,13 in the MT. The formula in 13,12-13 of the G^B is different from that of the MT.

III. A COMPARISON OF THE CORRESPONDING FORMULAS

Let us now investigate the corresponding formulas in the MT, G^B, G^L, and G^A. The usual concluding formula (Type II) expresses the succession on the throne by means of the verb מָלַךְ (the differences are in grey)¹⁵:

MT (14,15-16)	G ^B (14,15-16)	G ^A (14,15-16)	G ^L (13,25-26)
וַיָּתֵר דְּבָרֵי יְהוֹאָשׁ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וַיְגִבּוּרָתוֹ וְאֲשֶׁר נָלַחַם עִם אֲמֻצִּיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יִהוּדָה הַלְּאִהֵם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωᾶς ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐπολέμησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσειου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ	καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωᾶς ὅσα ἐποίησεν ἐν δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐπολέμησεν μετὰ Ἀμεσσειου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ	καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωᾶς καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ καὶ ὧς ἐπολέμησε μετὰ Ἀμεσσειου βασιλέως Ἰουδα οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰσραηλ
וַיִּשְׁכַּב יְהוֹאָשׁ עַם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבֵּר בְּשֶׁמֶרֶן עִם מֶלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּמְלֹךְ יִרְבְּעָם בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו:	καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωᾶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰεροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ	καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωᾶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰεροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ	καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωᾶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ <u>θάπτεται</u> ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραηλ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰεροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ

¹⁵ For the translation of these verses see above.

The unusual formula (Type I) contains the verb **ישב** in the MT, G^B, G^L, and G^A:

MT (13,12-13)	G ^B (13,12-13)	G ^A (13,12-13)	G ^L (14,16)
ויתר דברי יואש וכל-אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר נלחם עם אמציה מלך-יהודה הלוא-הם כתובים על-ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל:	¹² καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων <u>Ιωας</u> καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐποίησεν μετὰ Αμεσσιου βασιλέως Ιουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ισραηλ	¹² καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων <u>Ιωας</u> καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐποίησεν μετὰ Αμεσσιου βασιλέως Ιουδα οὐχὶ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ισραηλ	Not present
וישכב יואש עם-אבתיו וירבעם ישב על-כסאו ויקבר יואש בשמרון עם מלכי ישראל:	¹³ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη <u>Ιωας</u> μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ Ιεροβοαμ ἐκάθισεν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Σαμαρεία μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ισραηλ	¹³ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ιωας μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ Ιεροβοαμ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη <u>Ιωας ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ</u> <u>μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων</u> <u>Ισραηλ</u>	καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ιωας μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ <u>θάπτεται</u> <u>ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ</u> <u>τῶν βασιλέων</u> <u>Ισραηλ</u> καὶ ἐκάθισεν Ιεροβοαμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ ¹⁶

Comparing the G^L with the MT and the G^{BA} it seems that the concluding formula of the MT in 14,15-16 and that found in the G^L in 13,25-26 represent the same concluding formula. This conclusion can be buttressed by the presence of the conjunction καί/*waw*. This conjunction divides the sentence in three subordinate segments, while the MT of 13,12 has only two segments.

G ^L (13,25-26)	MT (14,15-16, Type II)	MT (13,12-13, Type I)
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ιωας 1 καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν 2 καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ 3 καὶ ὡς ἐπολέμησε μετὰ Αμεσσιου βασιλέως Ιουδα	ויתר דברי יהואש אשר עשה 1 וגבורתו 2 ואשר נלחם עם 3 אמציה מלך-יהודה	ויתר דברי יואש 1 וכל-אשר עשה 2 וגבורתו אשר נלחם עם אמציה מלך-יהודה

¹⁶ Since the translations of the other texts have been presented above, we add only the translation of the G^L: “And Joash slept with his fathers, and was buried in Samaria with the kings of Israel and Jeroboam, his son, sat upon his throne” (author’s translation).

<i>G^L (13,25-26)</i>	<i>MT (14,15-16, Type II)</i>	<i>MT (13,12-13, Type I)</i>
οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωᾶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἱεροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄντ' αὐτοῦ	הלא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל וישכב יהואש עִם־אבתיו ויקבר בשמרון עִם מלכי ישראל וימלך ירבעם בנו תחתיו	הלוא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל וישכב יואש עִם־אבתיו וירבעם ישב על־כסאו ויקבר יואש בשמרון עִם מלכי ישראל:

We must bear in mind that the formula of Type II (13,25-26) in *G^L* contains elements that link it not only with the formula of Type II but also with the formula of Type I. Thus, the *G^L* of 13,25-26 has the additional καὶ πάντα that corresponds to וכל of the MT of 13,12-13. Moreover, the translations גבורתו in 13,25-26 of the *G^L* is the same as the *G^B* has for 13,12-13 (αἱ δυναστεῖαι). In sum, the *G^L* has the concluding formula exchanged, but the formula of Type II in 13,25-26 of the *G^L* contains the elements that occur both in 13,12-13 and 14,15-16 of the MT and of the *G^B*.

IV. A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE OLD GREEK OF THE CONCLUDING FORMULAS

The differences among textual witnesses prompt us to reconstruct what may have been the old(est) text ¹⁷. There are good reasons to believe that in the case of Jehoash's concluding formulas the *G^L* contains the OG.

1. The “Typical” Concluding Formula (Type II)

M. Richelle suggested that the OG had the formula after 13,25 as in the *G^L* ¹⁸. This idea can be indirectly supported by his and J. Treballe's

¹⁷ For the techniques of reconstruction of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, see E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. Completely Revised and Expanded Third Edition (Winona Lake, MI ³2015). It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the problems of proto-Masoretic and pre-Masoretic texts and their development. Several scholars have argued that the *G^L* together with the *Vetus Latina* in most cases contain the Old Greek dated prior to the MT. For a more recent evaluation, see A. AEJMELEAUS, “Textual History of the Septuagint and the Principles of Critical Editing”, *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and its Editions*. Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot (eds. P.A. TORJANO – A. PIQUER OTERO) (Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1; Leiden 2017) 160-179, here 167-171; P. HUGO, “The Books of Kingdoms Fifty Years after the *Devanciers d'Aquila*. Development of the *Kaige* Theory within Barthélemy's Works, and Some Implications for Present Research”, *The Legacy of Barthélemy*. 50 Years after “Les *Devanciers d'Aquila*” (eds. A. AEJMELEAUS – T. KAUFMAN) (De Septuaginta investigationes 9; Göttingen 2017) 23-40, here 23-26.

¹⁸ RICHELLE, *Le testament d'Élisée*, 117-119.

research on the Elisha section in the *Vetus Latina* ¹⁹. They suggested that the original place of the Elisha episode (13,14-21 in the MT) was in the Jehu narrative as attested by *Vindobonensis* palimpsest £115, i.e. between verses 2 Kgs 10,30 and 10,31. This would leave the narrative on Jehoash with verses 13,10-11.22-25. Furthermore, the G^L moves the verses on covenant (13,23 in the MT) from Jehoash's reign to Jehoahaz's reign (13,8 in the G^L). This abbreviated narrative on Jehoash's reign finds a perfect parallel in 14,23-29 of the G^L. The OG sequence could have been as follows:

	<i>Joash (OG)</i>	<i>Jeroboam II</i>
Introductory formula	2 Kgs 13,10-11	2 Kgs 14,23-24
Enemies' oppression, God's mercy, and the king's heroic deeds	2 Kgs 13,22-25	2 Kgs 14,25-27
Concluding formula (Type II)	13,25-26 (G ^L)	2 Kgs 14,28-29

Moreover, by comparing the concluding formula of Jeroboam and Jehoash in the G^L we can notice that the problematic parts (in grey) are translated in the same way.

<i>The G^L of 13,25 (Jehoash's reign)</i>	<i>The G^L of 14,28 (Jeroboam's reign)</i>
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωαῶς καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ καὶ...	καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰεροβοαμ καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν καὶ αἱ δυναστεῖαι αὐτοῦ καὶ...

Based on this comparison, we suggest that in the OG the usual concluding formula (Type II) was located at the end of chapter 13, as it is in the G^L.

2. The Unusual Concluding Formula (Type I)

The comparison between two unusual formulas (Type I) as in the MT of 13,12-13 and in the G^L of 14,16 reveals differences that lead us to prefer the G^L as the OG. First, the G^L omits verse 14,15. This suggests that the second concluding formula for Jehoash, which was inserted in the midst

¹⁹ Cf. also A. SCHENKER, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher*. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als Älteste Textform der Königsbücher (OBO 199; Göttingen 2004) 108-115, 195.

of Amaziah's reign, was an incomplete version of a different type of concluding formula, which this paper classifies as Type I. Second, as shown above, the order of the concluding formulas in the MT of 13,13 and in the G^L of 14,16 is different. Whereas the former has an irregular order of events (death, succession, burial), the latter follows a normal order of the concluding formulas (death, burial, succession). Third, all concluding formulas in 1-2 Kings are constructed as a series of *wayyiqtol*s, whereas the verb in the MT of 13,13 is in *waw-x-qatal* (על-כסאו) (וירבעם ישב על-כסאו). The G^L of 14,16, however, reads καὶ ἐκάθισεν that would correspond to a *wayyiqtol* וישב. This further confirms that the G^L has the usual verbal sequence in the concluding formula. Finally, the MT of 13,13 omits a typical identification of the new king as "son of" בנו that is in the G^L of 14,16. For these reasons we suggest that the OG of 14,16 would be as in the G^L:

καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωαῶς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται ²⁰ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐκάθισεν Ἰεροβοὰμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ

A retroverted Hebrew version of the OG:

וישכב יואש עם-אבתיו ויקבר בשמרון עם מלכי ישראל וישב רבעם בנו על-כסאו

V. A POSSIBLE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF JEHOASH'S CONCLUDING FORMULAS

Recent advances in the textual criticism and studies of the Septuagint of 1 Samuel – 2 Kings focus not only on the reconstruction of the Old Greek, but also on the textual history of these books ²¹. In keeping with this approach, the following paragraphs represent an attempt to reconstruct the textual history of the concluding formulas.

Based on the reconstruction presented above, the OG had the concluding formula (Type II) in 13,25-26 as in the G^L. The second concluding formula (Type I) was in 14,16. The latter was an unusual formula. It contained the verb וישב as in the G^L, and it was not preceded by verse 14,15 of the MT.

²⁰ A difference between the Greek translations of the G^{BA} and the G^L is in the translation of the ויקבר. The G^L translates it as θάπτεται instead of ἐτάφη as in G^{BA}. This difference can be explained as the translation technique.

²¹ J.C. TREBOLLE BARRERA, "From Secondary Versions through Greek Recension to Hebrew Editions. The Contribution of the Old Latin Version", *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and its Editions. Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot* (eds. P.A. TORIJANO – A. PIQUER OTERO) (Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible; Leiden 2017) 180-216, here 180-182.

The OG partially represented by the *Vetus Latina* probably did not contain the Elisha episode (13,14-21 in the MT) which was originally part of the Jehu narrative. Once the Elisha section was transferred from chapter 10 to chapter 13, chapters 13 and 14 were significantly changed ²². So, chapters 13 and 14 underwent a complicated process of revision and harmonization. We can only hypothesize about some steps in this process.

While the G^L maintained the original position and form of the concluding formulas, the MT and the G^B exchanged the formulas and moved them to different places. The formula in 13,25-26 of G^L was moved after 14,14 creating an usual and complete concluding formula (Type II) as attested in 14,15-16 of the MT and G^{BA}. The unusual formula (Type I) was moved from its original place in 14,16 of G^L to 13,12-12 of the MT and the G^{BA}. The vestiges of this transfer have been preserved in the G^{BA}; the error in the G^B was caused by homoioteleuton (see above) and the G^A corrects it as follows:

καὶ Ἰεροβοὰμ ἐκάθισεν μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰσραὴλ (G^B)
καὶ Ἰεροβοὰμ ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτάφη Ἰωὰς ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ἰσραὴλ (G^A)

We may also speculate about the reason for such a rearrangement of the chapters. The G^{BA} does not mention the war between Jehoash and Amaziah in chapter 13 but only in chapter 14. Thus the transfer of the formula and its correction as in the G^{BA} create a new paradigm for Jehoash-Amaziah relations. The version as preserved in the G^{BA} does not describe a bellicose relationship between Judah and Israel but rather their mutual collaboration, which was a continuation of joint Israelite-Judahite enterprises (cf. 1 Kgs 22,4; 2 Kgs 3,7). Verse 13,13 of the G^B, even though is quite corrupted, goes in the same direction. It does not mention Jeroboam's ascension to the throne nor the war with Jehoash. It rather emphasizes Jeroboam's living (sitting) with his brothers in Samaria.

According to the G^{BA} the bellicose relationship between Judah and Israel started only after Amaziah's consolidation of the Judahite kingdom and the conquest of Edom (2 Kgs 14,5-7). In sum, the changes from the OG to the G^{BA} emphasize the gradual worsening of the Israelite-Judahite relationships, whereas the G^L suggests that the relations between Jehoash and Amaziah were never pacific. The MT seems to harmonize both formulas and reads in both: "he (Jehoash) fought against Amaziah".

²² Some aspects of this process were studied by J.C. TREBOLLE BARRERA, "Histoire du texte des livres historiques et histoire de la composition et de la rédaction deutéronomiste avec une publication préliminaire de 4Q481A, 'Apocryphe d'Élisée'", *Congress Volume Paris 1992* (ed. J.A. EMERTON) (VTSup 61; Leiden 1995) 327-342, here 339-342; RICHELLE, *Le testament d'Élisée*, 56-70.

VI. FROM TEXTUAL HISTORY TO LITERARY HISTORY

A. Schenker distinguished textual variants from those variants “which seem to be created precisely in order to modify the biblical text on the literary level by reshaping its main purpose”²³. Just as P. Torijano Morales used textual criticism to illuminate the redactional strata of 2 Kgs 17,2–6²⁴, so did S. McKenzie for understanding the Elijah cycle²⁵ and S. Hasegawa for a reconstruction of the battle at Aphek described in 2 Kgs 13,22²⁶. M. Richelle demonstrated the importance of the presence or absence of the Elisha episode for understanding Jehu and Jehoash²⁷. In keeping with this approach, we will now consider some aspects of the literary history of 2 Kings 13–14.

The textual-critical analysis presented above shows that the OG had an unusual formula (Type I) 14,16 of the G^L that contained the phrase וישב ירבעם בנו על-כסאו. The expression “to sit on (his) throne” as a sign of becoming the king is well known²⁸, but in 1–2 Kings it is used only in the succession narrative of Solomon in 1 Kings 1–2. An equivalent of this formula occurs in 1 Kgs 2,10–12, speaking of Solomon sitting on the throne of his father, but it is never found in other concluding formulas²⁹. This would suggest that the formula of Type I with the verb ישב comes from a different source than the other formulas in 1–2 Kings. The ancient

²³ A. SCHENKER, “What Do Scribes, and What Do Editors Do? The Hebrew Text of the Masoretes, the Old Greek Bible and the Alexandrian Philological *Ekdoseis* of the 4th and 3rd Centuries B.C., Illustrated by the Example of 2 Kings 1”, *After Qumran*. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts — The Historical Books (eds. H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN – J.C. TREBOLLE BARRERA) (BETL 246; Leuven 2012) 275–295, here 275. See also A. SCHENKER, “Die *Tiqqune Sopherim* im Horizont der biblischen Textgeschichte. Theologische Korrekturen, literarische Varianten in alttestamentlichen Text und Textvielfalt: Wie gehen sie zusammen?”, *Making the Biblical Text*. Textual Studies in the Hebrew and the Greek Bible (ed. I. HIMBAZA) (OBO 275; Fribourg 2015) 33–47, here 33–35.

²⁴ P. TORIJANO MORALES, “Textual Criticism and the Text-Critical Edition of IV Regnum: The Case of 17,2–6”, *After Qumran*. Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts — The Historical Books (eds. H. AUSLOOS – B. LEMMELIJN – J.C. TREBOLLE BARRERA) (BETL 246; Leuven 2012).

²⁵ S. MCKENZIE, “‘My God is YHWH’: The Composition of the Elijah Story in 1–2 Kings”, *Congress Volume Munich 2013* (ed. C.M. MAIER) (Leiden 2014) 92–111.

²⁶ S. HASEGAWA, “The Conquests of Hazael in 2 Kings 13:22 in the Antiochian Text”, *JBL* 133 (2014) 61–76.

²⁷ RICHELLE, *Le testament d’Élisée*, 11–103; IDEM, “Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14–21”, 72–81.

²⁸ This formula refers mainly to Solomon as the successor of David (1 Kgs 1–2; 3,6; 8,20,25), then to Elah (1 Kgs 16,11) and especially to Jehu’s dynasty (2 Kgs 10,30; 11,19; 13,13; 15,12). See also 1 Kgs 22,10,19.

²⁹ On the contrary, the “typical” formula וימלך ירבעם בנו תחתיו (Type II) is a standard formula in the regnal résumés; see, for example, 1 Kgs 11,43; 14,20,31; 2 Kgs 12,22; 14,29; 15,7,22,38.

date of the unusual formula (Type I) coincides with equivalent texts in Mesopotamian documents. To sit on the throne occurs in the regnal formulas of Babylonian chronicles *ina kussê ittašab* “he sat on the throne” (ABC 1 i 2.10.13, etc.). It was a standard formula used in this chronicle to coordinate the reigns of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Elamite kings. However, the Babylonian chronicles have no equivalent of the expression, “And the rest of the acts of ... are they not written in the Book of the Annals of the Kings of Israel?”

Thus, we can gather the following unusual elements in chapters 13 and 14. First, verse 14,16 is the only place in the Bible when the concluding formula of the Israelite king (Jehoash) is inserted into the midst of the account of a Judahite king (Amaziah). The OG of this inserted formula shows that it was an unusual and incomplete formula. Its phraseology is similar to that of the Babylonian chronicles. Thus, it can be concluded that the unusual formula (Type I) predates a usual formula (Type II).

The reconstruction of the OG shows that the original period for the insertion of this unusual concluding formula was in the midst of Amaziah’s reign. Reading this formula in the light of the following verse, “King Amaziah son of Joash of Judah lived fifteen years after the death of King Jehoash son of Jehoahaz of Israel” (2 Kgs 14,17) would illuminate the meaning and the date of verses 14,16 in the G^L. These two verses, and probably also verse 14,22³⁰, introduce a different type of synchronization between the northern and southern kings.

The meaning of this new type of synchronization can be explained from the context. According to 2 Kgs 14,8-13, stubborn Amaziah was defeated and captured by the Israelite king Jehoash, and Jerusalem and its temple were looted. Immediately after the description of the looting, there is a concluding summary of the reign of the Israelite king Jehoash (14,16) instead of that of Amaziah, which comes only later. Amaziah’s reign in fact starts in 2 Kgs 14,1-3 with an introductory formula typical for southern kings. But after the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple, Amaziah’s reign continues with Jehoash’s regnal résumé, and a new synchronization

³⁰ There is another strange formula in 2 Kgs 14,22: “he rebuilt Elath and restored it to Judah, after the king slept with his ancestors”. Who is “the king”? Is he the Israelite king Jehoash or the Judahite king Amaziah? The text allows for both translations. Some less important Greek manuscripts add Amaziah, so the translation would be: “He (Azariah) rebuilt Elath and restored it to Judah, after King (Amaziah) slept with his ancestors”. Thus, this verse would refer to the deeds of Amaziah’s son Azariah. But the translation that coordinates the southern king with the northern is also possible and, in my view, preferable, “He (Amaziah) rebuilt Elath and restored it to Judah, after King (Joash) slept with his ancestors”. This opinion can be supported by the fact that the addenda after the concluding regnal résumé normally describe the reign of the previous king (Amaziah) and not of the new king (Azariah).

of the Israelite and Judahite kings starts (2 Kgs 14,17). In this way the OG shows that after Israel had plundered Jerusalem and Amaziah had been taken captive, Judah became dependent on Samaria. In other words, after Judah became a vassal of Israel, the Judahite kings had to be synchronized with the Israelite kings. Thus, the unusual and seemingly incomplete formula in 14,16 of the G^L, and a new formula in 14,17, not only represent the oldest version of the text (OG) but also preserve an older northern tradition that told the story of the Judahite kings from the standpoint of their Israelite conquerors³¹. Consequently, the OG represents the oldest preserved synchronization of the history of the southern vassal kings according to their northern overlords³². This older northern tradition, which was problematic after the fall of Samaria and during the post-exilic period, was edited by a Deuteronomist³³. The revision of chapter 13 and 14 as attested in the MT and the G^{BA} shows that the process of redaction did not stop with the Deuteronomistic revision but continued even at the end of the first millennium.

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SUMMARY

This article reconstructs the Old Greek of 2 Kgs 13,12-13 and 14,15-16. The investigation suggests that the Old Greek can be reconstructed from the G^L with some minor changes. The formula in 14,16 is atypical and the author concludes that it represents an older synchronization of the histories of the northern and southern kingdoms after the conquest of Jerusalem by Jehoash.

³¹ For these historical periods, see N. NA'AMAN, "Historical and Chronological Notes on the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the 8th century BC", *VT* 36 (1986) 71-92; S. HASEGAWA, *Aram and Israel during the Jehu Dynasty* (BZAW 434; Berlin 2012) 107-128; I. FINKELSTEIN, "A Corpus of North Israelite Texts in the Days of Jeroboam II?", *HeBAI* 6 (2018) 262-289.

³² The vestiges of the northern formula might be still reflected in the account of Israelite king Elah in 1 Kgs 16,11 that reads: "When he began to reign, as soon as he had seated himself on his throne, he killed all the house of Baasha" (NRSV).

³³ P. DUBOVSKÝ, "The Birth of Israelite Historiography: A Comparative Study of 2 Kings 13–14 and Ninth-Eighth-Century BCE Levantine Historiographies", *Stones, Tablets, and Scrolls. Periods of the Formation of the Bible* (eds. P. DUBOVSKÝ – F. GIUNTOLI) (ArcB 3; Tübingen 2020) 65-111.

ROOT VARIATION IN TAUTOLOGICAL INFINITIVES: THE CASE OF JEREMIAH ¹

The Hebrew of the book of Jeremiah exhibits a few grammatical peculiarities specific to that book. One of these is the frequent and varied use of the tautological infinitive. The sheer number of tautological infinitives greatly exceeds the norm in the biblical books, and, as Yoo-Ki Kim notes, the general tendency towards a decreased use of the construction in biblical books written in Classical Hebrew does not apply here ². In Jeremiah, the use of tautological infinitives exhibits great variation in the number of roots used as well, and several anomalous examples with root variation can be found. This paper provides a fresh look at these anomalous tautological infinitives, it outlines previous explanations for this phenomenon, and finally it aims at offering a novel explanation for their use. Ultimately, I will make two points: 1) given the proficiency in the use of tautological infinitives in the book in general, it is a superficial explanation to classify them merely as errors; and 2) the grammatical construction itself does allow for the use of varied roots as exhibited in Jeremiah, although it does not occur elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. First, however, I will begin with a brief section on the phenomenon of the tautological infinitive itself, before dealing with the book of Jeremiah and the cases of root variation therein.

I. SURVEY OF SCHOLARSHIP

A tautological infinitive is an infinitive absolute followed or preceded by a finite verbal form of the same root. They are common throughout the books of the Hebrew Bible. Their exact use and meaning have been a matter of some debate, but the general consensus is that an infinitive absolute followed by a finite verbal form of the same root in some way intensifies or focuses the meaning of the verbal predicate ³. Thus, the traditional

¹ I wish to thank John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El for their insightful comments on earlier versions of this article, as well as the SBL section in Philology in Hebrew Bible Studies in Atlanta, GA in 2016. All errors that remain are my own.

² Y.-K. KIM, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive in Classical Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN 2009) 101-104.

³ See the survey of standard grammars below.

translation of a sentence such as מות תמות would be “you shall surely die” (Gen 2,17). Tautological infinitive or paronomastic infinitive are two names for the same grammatical construction with a number of different functions. Gideon Goldenberg has extensively outlined the variety of meanings that the construction can convey ⁴. While the limitations of this paper do not allow for a full and thorough treatment of the extensive scholarship dealing with the tautological infinitive, a brief survey of the standard grammars is warranted, along with a summary of more recent publications that make use of modern linguistic methods. Kim’s monograph, cited above, offers a more comprehensive overview.

Standard grammars, such as Gesenius – Kautzsch – Cowley (GKC) ⁵ and Joüon – Muraoka ⁶, agree in their description of the function and use of the infinitive absolute. According to GKC the infinitive absolute “occurs most frequently in immediate connexion with the finite verb of the same stem, in order in various ways to define more accurately or to strengthen the idea of the verb” ⁷. Joüon – Muraoka agrees and, like GKC, divides the use of the infinitive absolute based on whether it is pre- or post-posed relative to a finite verb ⁸. The pre-posed infinitive absolute mainly signifies affirmation, doubt, opposition, and concession, along with a number of rarer meanings. Examples of the general use include the one given above from Gen 2,17, מות תמות (“you shall surely die”), and Gen 37,8, המלך תמלך (“will you by any chance rule over us”). The post-positive signifies intensity of action, contrast or gradation ⁹. Examples given are: Jer 22,10, בכו בכו (“weep much”); Isa 6,9, שמעו שמוע ואל תבינו (“listen, but without understanding”); and Gen 31,15, ויאכל גם אכול את כספנו (“and moreover he had eaten up our money”).

In other grammatical expositions, the construction is described as a *figura etymologica* which causes the verb in the clause to receive a particular focus ¹⁰. In the standard publication on Biblical Hebrew syntax by B.K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, the tautological infinitive is described as an absolute complement or, alternatively, an absolute in the nominative function which is “based in word-play, or [used] to exhibit the *schema*

⁴ G. GOLDENBERG, “Tautological Infinitive”, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics* (Jerusalem 1998).

⁵ W. GESENIUS – E. KAUTZSCH, *Gesenius’s Hebrew Grammar* (trans. A.E. COWLEY) (Oxford 1910).

⁶ P. JOÜON – T. MURAOKA, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Rome ²2009).

⁷ GKC §1131.

⁸ JOÜON – MURAOKA, *Grammar*, 392f.

⁹ JOÜON – MURAOKA, *Grammar*, 392f.

¹⁰ W. SCHNEIDER, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Translated and revised by Randall L. McKinion (New York 2016) 189.

etymologicum”¹¹. Although they do not consider it emphatic in the sense of intensifying the meaning of the root, they argue that it does intensify the force of the action. More importantly, Waltke and O’Connor describe the use of the infinitive absolute as an “adverbial complement” either with a finite verb or with a finite verb and its corresponding paronomastic infinitive¹².

Goldenberg’s seminal 1998 article analyzes extensively the phenomenon of the tautological infinitive in Semitic languages and also provides comparisons to non-Semitic languages. Goldenberg posits three distinct types, although he allows for some variation and instances that do not fit perfectly within the perimeter of any type. Type A is when the infinitive is “placed in extraposition in the front of the sentence” and functions as a logical subject¹³. In Biblical Hebrew, this is most often the case when a negative particle separates the fronted infinitive from the following verbal form. An example is Jer 11,12b: **והושע לא יושיעו להם בעת רעתם** (“but saving — they will not save them in the time of their trouble”)¹⁴.

In type B the infinitive is marked as the logical predicate through cleaving¹⁵. Although Biblical Hebrew does not have “explicit cleft sentences”, as Goldenberg notes, there are still some examples that are “analogous to type-B constructions”¹⁶.

Type C is specific to Biblical Hebrew and very common. According to Goldenberg, type C is “all those sentences in which the paronomastic construction stands in contrast with its negation, but also all other cases where both forms constitute a syntagm, whatever shades of meaning they may appear to convey”¹⁷. In Biblical Hebrew, in other words, those instances that do not fit categories A and B are lumped together as type C, which is simply the regular paronomastic construction in which infinitive and finite verb complement each other. The basic example of **מות תמות** comes to mind.

Goldenberg departs from the standard grammars’ mechanical classification of the infinitive absolute based on its position¹⁸. He argues that the

¹¹ B.K. WALTKE – M. O’CONNOR, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN 1990) 585.

¹² WALTKE – O’CONNOR, *Syntax*, 589-590.

¹³ GOLDENBERG, “Infinitive”, 36-37.

¹⁴ GOLDENBERG, “Infinitive”, 66.

¹⁵ GOLDENBERG, “Infinitive”, 50.

¹⁶ GOLDENBERG, “Infinitive”, 67. Goldenberg highlights 2 Sam 24,24: “And the king said to Araunah, ‘No, but *buying* will I buy it (**לא כי קנו אקנה**) from you at a price, and I will not offer to the Lord my God gratuitous offerings” (Goldenberg’s translation).

¹⁷ GOLDENBERG, “Infinitive”, 71.

¹⁸ GOLDENBERG, “Infinitive”, 63.

position of the infinitive absolute is ultimately conditioned by the inflection of the finite verb, and as such has no bearing on the meaning of the construction. Thus, we may depart from the notion that post/pre-posed infinitives differ in any way.

Yoo-Ki Kim's 2009 monograph focuses on tautological infinitives in the relatively uniform corpus of Classical Hebrew texts. He builds on Goldenberg's work but adds more recent linguistic theory to his argument. Kim concludes regarding the use of the tautological infinitive that it is a "special type of adverb" ¹⁹ modifying the cognate finite verb. On the basis of functional grammar, he concludes that tautological infinitives form a "special focus construction" ²⁰. Christo van der Merwe has highlighted the problematic nature of some of Kim's conclusions: for instance, the psychological explanations proposed for the use of tautological infinitives in some cases are, according to van der Merwe, "hard to verify" ²¹. However, Na'ama Pat-El has reviewed the monograph and argued that, although some of Kim's arguments are at times vague, Kim makes an important contribution to the ongoing discussion of diachrony and dating of the Hebrew language in individual books ²². One important note that Pat-El makes is the suggestion that the relative frequency of tautological infinitives in Jeremiah "shows innovation rather than following CBH conventions" ²³. This is an important observation as it might explain why Jeremiah is the only text that exhibits these three cases of intentional root mixing. To return to Kim's main argument, he outlines a number of different functions of the tautological infinitive, and, most importantly for the issue at hand, he suggests that it may perform some adverbial function in the sentence.

The view that the infinitive absolute — along with its other uses — may function adverbially is essential for the point made in this paper. Van der Merwe sums up the view as follows: "the infinitive absolute is par excellence an adverbial modifier" ²⁴. The notion that the infinitive absolute can and often does act adverbially is what the following discussion rests on.

¹⁹ KIM, *Function*, 43.

²⁰ KIM, *Function*, 76.

²¹ C.H.J. VAN DER MERWE, "The Infinitive Absolute Reconsidered: Review Article", *JNSL* 39 (2013) 61-84, here 67.

²² N. PAT-EL, "Review of Yoo-Ki Kim, *The Function of the Tautological Infinitive in Classical Hebrew*", *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 32 (2010) 233-236.

²³ PAT-EL, "Review", 235.

²⁴ VAN DER MERWE, "Reconsidered", 74.

II. OUTLINING THE MATERIAL

There are 64 discrete instances of tautological infinitive constructions in Jeremiah ²⁵. The fact that 44 different roots are used for these 64 instances means that the construction is employed more widely and with more variety than in other books of the Bible ²⁶. While typically the root of the infinitive and the inflected verb are identical, in three instances we find a tautological infinitive with variant roots in the infinitive and the finite verbal form. These are outlined below.

1. Example 1: Jer 8,13

אסף אסיפם נאם יהוה אין ענבים בגפן ואין תאנים בתאנה והעלה נבל ואתן להם יעברום
 “I will surely snatch them away”, declares the LORD; “There will be no grapes on the vine, and no figs on the fig tree, and the leaf shall wither; and what I have given them shall pass away” ²⁷.

The infinitive absolute: qal, I-aleph 's-p (“to gather”).

Finite verb: II-weak s-w-p (“to make an end of”), hiphil, 1st common singular, 3rd masculine plural suffix.

2. Example 2: Jer 42,10

אם שוב תשובו בארץ הזאת ובניתי אתכם ולא אהרס ונטעתי אתכם ולא אתוש כי נחמתי
 אל הרעה אשר עשיתי לכם

“If you will indeed stay in this land, then I will build you up and not tear you down, and I will plant you and not uproot you; for I shall relent concerning the calamity that I have inflicted on you”.

Infinitive absolute: qal, II-weak š-w-b (“to turn, return”).

Finite verb: I-yod y-š-b (“to sit, dwell”), qal, imperfect, 2nd masculine plural.

3. Example 3: Jer 48,9

תנו ציץ למואב כי נצא תצא ועריה לשמה תהיינה מאין יושב בהן

“Give wings to Moab, for she will flee away; and her cities will become a desolation, without inhabitants in them”.

²⁵ KIM, *Function*, 101, and via a search in BibleWorks 9 for infinitive absolutes in Jeremiah.

²⁶ KIM, *Function*, 101-104.

²⁷ Unless otherwise noted, all translations are from NAS.

Infinitive absolute: qal, I-nun *n-š-*’ (“to fly”).

Finite verb: I-yod *y-š-*’ (“to go out”), qal, imperfect 3rd person feminine singular.

III. PREVIOUS EXPLANATIONS

The interpretation of these sentences has received some, albeit limited, attention. One explanation is that they are mistakes and that the author of Jeremiah simply mixed up the forms. Such is the explanation in GKC which amends the text in the case of the first example ²⁸ and classifies Jer 42,10 as an “old textual error” ²⁹. A number of commentaries more or less avoid treating these grammatical constructions, and some follow GKC ³⁰. Another group of commentaries simply reprint instances like Jer 8,13 to mean “I will gather their harvest”, taking the second form as a noun ³¹. Similarly, some commentaries resolutely reprint or even re-read Jer 48,9 as an error and assume the root *n-š-h*, instead ³². To be sure, all of the roots are weak, and so root confusion is possible. There is, however, no consistency in the “mistakes”. In Jer 8,13, it is a I-aleph root which is said to have been confused with a II-weak root, whereas in 48,9 it is a I-nun that would have been confused with a I-yod. Finally, root confusion is otherwise not a common trait of the language of Jeremiah.

GKC compares this type of root ‘confusion’ with Isa 28,28:

לחם יודק כי לא לנצח אדוש ידושנו יהמם גלגל עגלתו ופרשיו לא ידקנו

“Grain for bread is crushed, Indeed, he does not continue to thresh it forever. Because the wheel of his cart and his horses eventually damage it, He does not thresh it longer”.

Here the possibility of a mistake, namely, the unexplained added aleph, seems more plausible since there is simply no Hebrew root *’-d-š* that the author could have used by mistake. Scott B. Noegel suggests, with others,

²⁸ GKC §113w.

²⁹ GKC §19i.

³⁰ Among others: S.R. DRIVER, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* (London 1909); E.W. NICHOLSON, *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah*. Chapters 26–52, vol II (CBC; Cambridge 1975); and J. BRIGHT, *Jeremiah*. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB; Garden City, NY 1965) 251.

³¹ For instance, W. HOLLADAY, *Jeremiah I* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1986) and W. Rudolph, *Jeremia* (HAT; Tübingen 1968). G. FISCHER suggests either intentional word-play or the reprinting of the two forms (*Jeremia 1–25* [HThKAT; Freiburg 2005] 330–331).

³² H.-J. STIPP, *Jeremia 25–52* (HAT I/12,2; Tübingen 2019) 682. Stipp simply ignores the issues with Jer 42,10.

that the word is based on the Aramaic root *'d-š*, and thus that we have an actual case of intentional root mixing where the author used an Aramaic root that fit the context ³³. The root has the meaning “to be quiet”, and the infinitive could be translated as “hushing”. Besides the fact that the translation is somewhat awkward, it is also worth noting that the Aramaic root is quite rare.

The other example GKC gives, Zephaniah 1,2, is in fact somewhat similar to Jer 8,13, in that it is the same roots that are “mixed”:

אסף אסף כל מעל פני האדמה נאם יהוה

“‘I will completely remove all things from the face of the earth’, declares the LORD”.

Again, we see the roots *'s-p* and *s-w-p* presented as relating to each other. The translators of the New American Standard Bible obviously interpreted this sentence as a “regular” paronomastic infinitive construction indicating the emphasizing nature of the construction. As I will argue below, the cases in Jeremiah should be treated as intentional, based on the vast number of “regular” tautologicals and on the perception that the author had a thorough knowledge of how to construct them. The case in Zephaniah could perhaps be explained as a mistake, as the author does not seem to be as well-versed in the use of the tautological infinitives as the author of Jeremiah.

Kim, in a similar vein, notes that, given the consistent and correct use of the tautological infinitive as a whole in Jeremiah, it seems unlikely for there to be confusion in these few examples. Instead, he argues, it is due to the literary style of the author, and that in these examples “the tautological infinitive would modify the verbal idea in a peculiar manner” ³⁴. However, neither of these approaches offers a sufficiently convincing explanation for the root confusion, and Kim refrains from outlining what this peculiar manner might be.

Noegel has treated all three passages in two articles ³⁵. In general, he sees them, along with Isa 28,28 and Zeph 1,2, as forms of word-play, meant to convey both meanings of the roots employed ³⁶. Lundbom’s commentary

³³ S.B. NOEGEL, “A Slip of the Reader and Not the Reed: Part I”, *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 26 (1998) 12-19, here 12-14.

³⁴ KIM, *Function*, 103.

³⁵ S.B. NOEGEL, “A Slip of the Reader and Not the Reed: Part I”, 12-19, and “A Slip of the Reader and Not the Reed: Part II”, *Jewish Bible Quarterly* 26 (1998) 93-100.

³⁶ A. BERLIN (*Zephaniah. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB; New York 1994] 72) has suggested the same for Zeph 1,2, namely, that the deliberate use of different roots “produces greater assonance, an important feature in prophetic speech, without sacrificing meaning”.

suggests word-play as well ³⁷. Although this explanation departs from seeing them as mistakes and accepts the possibility of intentional use, Noegel offers no linguistic explanation. He disagrees with Michael Deroche's translation of Jer 8,13, "In-gathering I shall destroy them" ³⁸, and sees the occurrence as a "subtextual" word-play ³⁹, translating the passage simply as, "I will make an end of them" ⁴⁰. As will become apparent, Deroche's translation is almost identical to the one I shall suggest below, the difference being that Deroche explains the use based on literary variation but without offering any linguistic explanation to support his translation. He argues that "Jeremiah's choice of wording and imagery was made with the specific intention of going beyond Zephaniah's proclamation" ⁴¹ and thus that the tautological infinitive is a repetition of Zeph 1,2.

Noegel acknowledges the deliberate use of two different roots in Jer 42,10 and 48,9, and characterizes them as word-play meant to "deliver the message concisely, force the listener to contemplate the meaning of the oracle, and provide for the listener important clues for interpreting the prophecy" ⁴². In sum, Noegel offers an interesting perspective on the verses, but like Deroche, he does not support his views with a coherent linguistic explanation. However, Noegel's notion that the tautological infinitives are a form of word-play is noteworthy. It is true that the "incorrect" infinitives are all remarkably similar in sound to their verbs, and that they do indeed sound like word-play when read aloud, but I would argue that this cannot be the only explanation for their existence.

IV. A REVISED EXPLANATION

As has been outlined above, infinitive absolutes may have an adverbial function. However, this view has not been extended to include the verses treated here. Most of the previous treatments of these examples take issue with the root mismatch and label them as root confusion in an otherwise normal tautological infinitive construction, but root mismatch in relation to tautological infinitives is attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Root mismatch is common in examples of tautological infinitive constructions

³⁷ J.R. LUNDBOM, *Jeremiah 1–20. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York 1999).

³⁸ M. DEROCHE, "Contra Creation, Covenant and Conquest (Jer. viii 13)", VT 30 (1980) 280-290.

³⁹ NOEGEL, "A Slip of the Reader and Not the Reed: Part I", 18.

⁴⁰ NOEGEL, "A Slip of the Reader and Not the Reed: Part I", 15.

⁴¹ DEROCHE, "Contra Creation", 287.

⁴² NOEGEL, "A Slip of the Reader and Not the Reed: Part II", 99.

incorporating the infinitive of the root *h-l-k* and expressing continuity ⁴³. Typically, the infinitive is post-posed to the verbal form and coupled with a second infinitive absolute of a different root. The finite verb is of the root *h-l-k* as is the case in 2 Sam 6,12, or of the same root of the second infinitive as is the case in Gen 8,13. However, pre-posed infinitives are also found. Consider Jer 50,4 with the expression הלֹךְ וּבְכוּ יָלְכוּ:

“In those days and at that time”, declares the LORD, “the sons of Israel will come, both they and the sons of Judah as well; they will go along weeping as they go, and it will be the LORD their God they will seek”.

The infinitive absolute of *h-l-k* and *b-k-h* are both pre-posed before the finite verbal form in the qal imperfect 3rd masculine plural, also of the root *h-l-k*. The English translation underlines quite adequately the sense of the infinitives. Both infinitives modify the finite form, and the second infinitive of the root *b-k-h* clearly defines how the walking will proceed, namely while weeping. The infinitive of *h-l-k* expresses the continuous fashion of the action ⁴⁴.

In Josh 6,9 a finite verb is not present, and, instead, we find two infinitive absolutes near the end of the verse in the form of הלֹךְ וּתְקֹעַ, both modifying the preceding participle הֹלֵךְ:

“And the armed men went before the priests who blew the trumpets, and the rear guard came after the ark, while they continued to blow the trumpets”.

Although the construction with an infinitive of *h-l-k* is the more common, there are numerous other examples where two infinitives modify a finite verb from one of the roots.

The book of Jeremiah exhibits a similar use of two infinitive absolutes with a finite verb, as for example in Jer 7,13, וַאֲדַבֵּר אֲלֵיכֶם הַשָּׂכֶם וּדְבַר:

“And now, because you have done all these things”, declares the LORD, “and I spoke to you, rising up early and speaking, but you did not hear, and I called you but you did not answer”.

An infinitive absolute of the root *š-k-m* meaning “to rise early” is used in conjunction with a finite verb and an infinitive absolute of the root *d-b-r* meaning “to speak”. This is yet another peculiarity of Jeremiah ⁴⁵.

Finally, examples of sentences with infinitive absolutes such as הֵיטֵב, הַדְּבָר, and הַשָּׂכֶם all modify the finite verb in a sentence, without

⁴³ JOÜON – MURAOKA, *Grammar*, 397.

⁴⁴ Having used the NAS translation elsewhere in this paper I have done the same in this example, even though my own translation would be “they will go, while continuously weeping and going”, which would adequately convey the adverbial notion of *h-l-k*.

⁴⁵ VAN DER MERWE, “Reconsidered”, 74-75.

being from the same root ⁴⁶. They may appear by themselves, without another infinitive to match the finite verb. Consider Deut 17,4:

והגד לך ושמעת ודרשת היטב והנה אמת נכון הדבר נעשתה התועבה הזאת בישראל

“And if it is told you and you have heard of it, then you shall inquire thoroughly. And behold, if it is true and the thing certain that this detestable thing has been done in Israel”.

In sum, the infinitive absolute may carry an adverbial idea when modifying the finite verb. Furthermore, the fact that the infinitive absolute and finite verb are not of the same root does not hinder this construction, and is, in fact, part of Biblical Hebrew grammar. By extending this deliberate mixing of roots in the functions treated above, we might argue that deliberate root mixing is certainly possible in the tautological infinitive as well.

V. NEW READINGS

Having the above observations in mind, I propose new readings of these three verses. Instead of perceiving them as mistakes, intensifiers, or word-plays, I suggest that they quite intentionally modify the finite verb adverbially. I argue that these three instances are a further development of the already existing use of infinitive absolutes to modify a finite verb and should be considered a stylistic trait of Jeremiah. The fact that there are very few instances — really only one — of this “anomalous” paronomastic construction in the Hebrew Bible outside of Jeremiah demonstrates that Jeremiah is stylistically unique in this regard. The Book of Jeremiah has a preference for tautological infinitives in general and for this non-isoradical use in particular. This preference and the versatility in the use of the construction in general allow us to accept them as deliberate features. A revised translation of the verses, considering their context, would be as follows.

1. *Example 1: Jer 8,13*

אסף אסיפם נאם יהוה אין ענבים בגפן ואין תאנים בתאנה והעלה נבל ואתן להם
יעברום

“Gathering (them) I will make an end of them”, says the Lord, “there will be no grapes on the vine and no figs on the fig tree; the leaf shall wither and what I have given them shall perish”.

⁴⁶ Granted, these may have undergone grammaticalization and become fixed adverbs, but at the outset they originated as infinitive absolutes.

The infinitive absolute specifies the way in which the destruction will take place, namely that they will be gathered and then destroyed. As such, the adverbial usage specifies that not only will the Lord destroy but he will also gather them as well. This expression conveys a thoroughness in the destruction.

2. Example 2: Jer 42,10

אם שוב תשובו בארץ הזאת ובניתי אתכם ולא אהרס ונטעתי אתכם ולא אתוש כי נחמתי
אל הרעה אשר עשיתי לכם

“If returning you will stay in this land, then I will build you up and I will not tear you down”.

The infinitive absolute underlines the way in which the army officers and the people are to stay in the land. They are on their way to Egypt but are promised by the Lord that he will build them up and not tear them down if they return to stay. He will destroy them, however, if they continue on their way to Egypt. Here, the infinitive specifies that God is asking the people not only to stay but also to give up their current endeavor and to return.

3. Example 3: Jer 48,9

תנו ציץ למואב כי נצא תצא ועריה לשמה תהיינה מאין יושב בהן

“Give wings to Moab, because she will go out flying, her cities will become desolation and there will be no inhabitants in them”.

The infinitive absolute here conveys the way in which Moab will go out. The text mentions Moab’s wings, and by modifying the “going out” with “flying” the avian metaphor is continued in the rest of the verse.

VI. CONCLUSION

By using grammatical constructions already inherent in Biblical Hebrew, this article reconsiders three specific instances of tautological infinitives in the Book of Jeremiah, namely Jer 8,13, 42,10 and 48,9, which have often been categorized as simple mistakes or identified as “word-play” without further explanation. I have argued that this is not the case, and that the scribe of Jeremiah was well aware of the stylistic tools at his disposal. While I do not disagree with previous suggestions that the instances represent word-play, I also argue that the similarity of the infinitive forms

to the finite verbs suggests a deliberate yet controlled use of verbal forms that sound alike. This deliberate use of the infinitive absolute, while remaining within the confines of how the form can be used in Biblical Hebrew, is unique to the Hebrew of the Book of Jeremiah. The reconsideration of these verses allows for the adverbial nature of the infinitive to come to the surface in our English translation of the skillful Hebrew of the Book of Jeremiah.

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SUMMARY

The grammatical category of the “tautological infinitive” occurs throughout the Hebrew Bible but is never more frequent than in the Book of Jeremiah. Three cases of tautological infinitives in the Book of Jeremiah that have been treated as mistakes are reanalyzed in this paper, and new readings are proposed. By examining other instances of tautological infinitives in the Hebrew Bible, this paper argues that the three possible mistakes in Jeremiah are, in fact, part of the book’s general preference for this grammatical construction, and that they do not fall outside the accepted use of the tautology in Biblical Hebrew.

LAND FOR THE LANDLESS: ASSIGNING LAND TO *GERIM* IN EZEKIEL'S RESTORATION PROGRAM*

Ezekiel's Temple vision (Ezekiel 40–48) is also engaged with the future inheritance of Israel's land. Its concluding section deals with the land's future boundaries (47,15–20) and its division among recipients (48,1–29). As part of this apportionment, God orders to assign land shares not only to Israel but also to *gerim*. This assignment would be within the territory of the tribe in which the *ger* already resides, and it requires that the recipient *ger* have already begotten children while residing within Israel (47,22–23) ¹.

Who are these *gerim* who are entitled to land shares according to Ezekiel? Scholarly discussions of the *gerim* in the Hebrew Bible are numerous and can be presented here only briefly ². Generally, scholars agree that the *ger*

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¹ Many have argued that Ezek 47,22–23 are secondary interpolations (*spätere Nachträge*). See, e.g., H. GESE, *Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel* (Kap. 40–48). Traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht (BHT 25; Tübingen 1957) 99–100; G. FOHRER, *Ezechiel* (HAT 13; Tübingen 1955) 258; W. ZIMMERLI, *A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48* (trans. R.E. CLEMENTS – J.D. MARTIN) (Hermeneia; Philadelphia, PA 1983) 526; W. EICHRODT, *Ezekiel* (trans. C. QUIN) (OTL; London 1970) 592; J.W. WEVERS, *Ezekiel* (CB; London 1976) 336; T.A. RUDNIG, *Heilig und Profan. Redaktionskritische Studien zu Ez 40–48* (BZAW 287; Berlin 2000) 179–183; K.F. POHLMANN, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel (Ezechiel) Kapitel 20–48* (ATD 22/2; Göttingen 2001) 619; S.L. COOK, *Ezekiel 38–48* (AB 22B; New Haven, CT 2018) 526. The main argument raised was that 47,22–23 interrupt the sequence between 47,13–21, which deal with the land's borders and anticipate its allocation to the twelve tribes, and 48,1–7.23–35, which fulfill this anticipation. However, the word נְחִילָה in the beginning of v. 22 does not necessarily indicate a secondary interpolation (see 47,9–10), and the mentioning of land inheritance “to the tribes of Israel” (v. 21) does not exclude the possibility that other land grantees would be mentioned as well, especially when aliens were not allotted inheritance directly but only within the tribe where they resided. Therefore I accept D.I. BLOCK, *The Book of Ezekiel*. Chapters 25–48 (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI 1998) 704–705, who maintains that 47,22–23 “represents the latest stages in the redactional process”, but nevertheless argues “there is nothing in this text that could not come from Ezekiel's mouth, if not his pen”. For the sake of convenience, the author of 47,22–23, whether Ezekiel or his school, will be referred to here as “Ezekiel”, and this article will investigate the socio-historical background of his unique instruction.

² For some recent studies with references to earlier scholarship, see R. EBACH, *Das Fremde und das Eigene. Die Fremdendarstellungen des Deuteronomiums im Kontext*

was an alien in regard to the majority group in which he was residing. The reason for this alienage and the semantic developments that the term *ger* might have undergone are, however, a matter of debate. Several scholars maintain that at least in some biblical traditions (especially D) the term *ger* refers not to foreigners but rather to northern Israelites who immigrated to Judah after Samaria's fall in 722 BCE³. Other scholars claim that in the post-exilic period the term's meaning developed⁴. Some think that it denoted non-Israelite religious converts, proselytes⁵, while others maintain that the term related to different Israelite groups in the post-exilic period⁶. In contrast, many other scholars claim, in my opinion convincingly, that the term *ger* referred to non-Israelite resident aliens and that the meaning of this term remained pretty much stable in the different biblical traditions⁷.

It seems that in all that pertains to Ezek 47,22-23 the *gerim* are resident aliens of non-Israelite origin. They are clearly not part of the (twelve) "tribes of Israel" (47,13.21-22; 48,1-8.23-29), and v. 23 differentiates between the "tribe" (שבט) and the *ger* who only resides among it (גר... אתו שם). Therefore, the term *gerim* cannot refer here to northern Israelites who are entitled to land inheritance in their own right and not as *gerim*. The possibility that the *gerim* are Judeans who were not exiled is likewise improbable since Ezekiel predicts a complete annihilation of this group (33,23-29), and so it is unlikely that he would grant them land. Finally, it is very difficult to accept the claim that the *gerim* in this case are proselytes⁸. In

israelitischer Identitätskonstruktionen (BZAW 471; Berlin 2014); M.A. AWABDY, *Immigrants and Innovative Law*. Deuteronomy's Theological and Social Vision for the גר (FAT 67; Tübingen 2014); J. UNTERMAN, "Providing for the Disadvantaged. The Stranger, the Poor, the Widow, and the Orphan (with a Note on Slavery)", in IDEM, *Justice for All*. How the Jewish Bible Revolutionized Ethics (Philadelphia, PA 2017) 41-84, 202-217.

³ See, e.g., C. BULTMANN, *Der Fremde im antiken Juda* (FRLANT 153; Göttingen 1992).

⁴ See, e.g., J.E. RAMÍREZ KIDD, *Alterity and Identity in Israel*. The גר in the Old Testament (BZAW 283; Berlin 1999).

⁵ See, e.g., D. KELLERMANN, "גר", *TDOT* 2:439-449.

⁶ See, e.g., J.G. VINK, "The Date and Origin of the Priestly Code in the Old Testament", *OTS* 15 (1969) 1-144, who claims that the term *ger* referred to the Samaritans; according to C. VAN HOUTEN, *The Alien in Israelite Law* (JSOTSup 107; Sheffield 1991), the *ger* referred to the Judeans who remained in the land and were not exiled.

⁷ See, e.g., M. WEINFELD, *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomist* (Oxford 1972) 229-232; J. JOOSTEN, *People and Land in the Holiness Code*. An Exegetical Study of the Ideational Framework of the Law in Leviticus 17-26 (VTSup 67; Leiden 1996) 54-74; J. MILGROM, *Leviticus 17-22* (AB 3B; New York 2000) 1493-1501. In the following discussion, I will discuss several examples that support this conclusion.

⁸ See WEVERS, *Ezekiel*, 338; J. BLENKINSOPP, *Ezekiel* (Louisville, KY 1990) 235; P.M. JOYCE, *Ezekiel*. A Commentary (New York 2007) 238; W. PIKOR, *The Land of Israel in the Book of Ezekiel* (LHBOTS 667; London 2018) 217-222.

addition to the fact that conversion and proselytes are much later phenomena that were unknown in the ancient world⁹, the only precondition for the land grant is that the *ger* had begotten children among Israel — not circumcision, the worship of Israel's deity, or the fulfillment of his commandments. This meaning of the term *ger* as resident alien is consistent with the other occurrences of this term in the book of Ezekiel (14,7; 22,7.9), and with the prevalent meaning of this term in the Pentateuchal legal codes.

This paper will investigate the cultural and historical background of this unique order. It will demonstrate that the biblical traditions preceding Ezekiel neither order nor anticipate land granting for aliens. Therefore, the prediction stated in Ezek 47,22-23 is completely innovative. Following an evaluation of several scholarly treatments of this issue, I will propose that the socio-economic realities of the Judean exiles in Babylonia may explain and serve as the background for Ezekiel's revolutionary innovation.

I. THE ATTITUDES TOWARD ALIENS IN THE BIBLICAL TRADITIONS

Some of Ezekiel's exegetes have claimed that his prediction that aliens and native-Israelites alike will inherit the land reflects the influence of preceding biblical traditions, especially the Pentateuchal legal codes. Scholars, of course, agree that, besides Ezekiel, the Hebrew Bible does not contain any specific order to grant aliens land. Nevertheless, they maintain that several biblical traditions, which relate to pre-exilic social and legal realities, anticipate complete equality between aliens and natives, thus allowing (and maybe inspiring) Ezekiel to take one small step forward and to award them land, as well, in his description of Israel's future restoration¹⁰.

Do the biblical traditions indeed aim toward a complete equality between aliens and natives? Did Ezekiel just continue on the path already marked by his predecessors? A brief survey of the different approaches toward aliens in the Hebrew Bible will reveal a negative answer to these questions.

Aliens, by their very definition, dwell בארץ לא להם, "in a land that is not theirs" (Gen 15,13), and their dwelling place is always ארץ נכריה,

⁹ See MILGROM, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1499; R. ALBERTZ, "From Aliens to Proselytes: Non-Priestly and Priestly Legislation Concerning Strangers", *The Foreigner and the Law. Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (eds. R. ACHENBACH – R. ALBERTZ – J. WÖHRLE) (BZAR 16; Wiesbaden 2011) 53-69.

¹⁰ See, e.g., G.A. COOKE, *The Book of Ezekiel* (ICC; Edinburgh 1936) 529, who maintains that Ezekiel's instruction corresponds with the provisions of both P and H (even if going farther specifically regarding land grant). See also L.C. ALLEN, *Ezekiel 20–48* (WBC 29; Dallas, TX 1990) 281. In a slightly different way, COOK, *Ezekiel 38–48*, 280, maintains that "Ezekiel is following through on HS values and ideals".

“a foreign land” (Exod 2,22; 18,3) and not home. The alien’s residence in the land, even if long-term, is always temporary (“For we are aliens before you [...] our days on the earth are like a shadow”, 1 Chr 29,15) and does not indicate any right to fully possess it (“that you may possess the land where you are residing”, Gen 28,4). The disconnection between the alien and land rights is emphasized by the fact that even for burial (Gen 23,4) and perhaps also lodging (Job 31,32; Jer 14,8) he is at the complete mercy of the native landowners ¹¹.

These perceptions are also reflected in the Pentateuchal legal codes. Determining the relative dating of each code, the different strata it contains, and its literary connections to the other codes lies beyond the scope of this study. Therefore, in the followings I will focus on the question of whether any of the Pentateuchal legal codes, regardless of its date and redactional layers, anticipates a complete equality between aliens and natives in a way that could have influenced Ezekiel.

In the Covenant Code, aliens are mentioned with the other weak members of society, orphans and widows, and Israel is warned not to deceive or oppress them (Exod 22,20; 23,9). Aliens are also listed beside the slaves and cattle, emphasizing that, just like them, their Sabbath rest is dependent on their employer’s will (23,12). However, except for these regulations, the Covenant Code sees the aliens’ inherent neediness as a given and does not take any measure to change it.

Likewise, the Deuteronomic Code (D) mentions the resident aliens with orphans, widows, and the poor and warns against perverting their justice (Deut 24,17; 27,19; see also Ezek 22,7.29) or withholding their wages (Deut 24,14). D also accepts their right to a Sabbath rest (5,13; cf. Exod 20,9), and grants them some of Israel’s agricultural yield (Deut 24,19-22; 26,11-13).

Moreover, D allows aliens to participate in some of Israel’s cultic events. There is an order to invite them, together with orphans, widows and Levites, to participate and rejoice before God in the feasts of Weeks and Booths (16,10-14; 26,11). Likewise, it includes the aliens with the rest of Israel in the national gathering occurring at the end of every seven years, where the law should be read in front of all Israel “so that they may hear and learn and fear the LORD your God, and be careful to observe all the words of this law” (31,12).

¹¹ This general picture, of course, had some exceptions, and foreign individuals like Uriah the Hittite probably received land grants in return for their services. These high-status individuals, however, are not described as *gerim*, and their social integration seems quite different from that of most other resident aliens.

Do these regulations reflect D's "inclusive" approach toward aliens and its intention to grant them status equal to that of native-Israelites? It seems that the answer to this question is negative. Thus, D differentiates between aliens and natives and allows the unholy aliens to eat carrion (14,21)¹². Moreover, the annual instructions to grant aliens part of Israel's agricultural yield and to invite them to partake in Israel's annual festivals may indicate D's expectation that every year new needy aliens would immigrate to Israel's land. But they may equally imply that D does not anticipate any change in the aliens' status and assumes that their continuing and inevitable neediness will require Israel to support them every year anew.

Further confirmation of this conclusion may be found in two additional examples. Deuteronomy 28 presents a long list of curses which will befall Israel if they fail to observe God's commandments. The curses are a broader and more intimidating mirror image of the blessings that precede them, and they reflect the reversal of the "normal" desired world order manifested in the blessings. Israel will suffer defeat; diseases will inflict them; their land will not provide for their needs, etc. Interestingly, the blessing, "The Lord will make you the head, not the tail; you will always be at the top and not at the bottom" (28,13), is reversed by the expanded curse: "The alien residing among you shall ascend above you higher and higher, while you shall descend lower and lower. He shall lend to you, but you shall not lend to him; he shall be the head and you shall be the tail" (28,43-44). As long as everything goes well and Israel is blessed, aliens should be at the bottom of the social ladder. They should resort to credit and should not have enough economic resources to lend to others (28,12). Any change in this socio-economic reality is undesirable and indicates that something is wrong¹³.

The second example appears in D's unique tithe law. Every three years, the tithe should be left for the needy Levites, aliens, orphans and widows (14,28; 26,12). The reason is specified only regarding the Levite: "because he has no portion or inheritance among you" (14,29), but its rationale applies for aliens as well. Like the Levites, they also do not have portion or inheritance, and in both cases there is no expectation that this reality will change¹⁴.

¹² This indicates that the *ger* in this case is a non-Israelite. See also MILGROM, *Leviticus* 17-22, 1494, who maintains that "to exclude an Israelite *ger* from the category of an 'am qādōš, 'holy people' for socioeconomic reasons is [...] inconceivable". Contra BULTMANN, *Fremde*, 34-119, who claims that the *gerim* in D were impoverished, landless Israelites.

¹³ This is a further confirmation of the non-Israelite origin of the *gerim* in D. If the *ger* were indeed a landless Israelite, the improvement of his socio-economic status would not have been perceived as a curse for the rest of the people.

¹⁴ Deut 23,8-9 allows third generation descendants of Edomites and Egyptians to "enter the assembly" (לבוא בקהל), and EICHRODT, *Ezekiel*, 592, proposes that this influenced

We may conclude that D neither orders nor anticipates any change in the aliens' socio-economic status. D is aware of the aliens' distress and takes various measures to ease it. However, these measures only deal with the distressed persons' symptoms and do not intend to resolve the cause. God indeed loves the aliens and orders Israel to do so as well ¹⁵, but this love is confined to providing them with food and clothing, not land (10,18-19) ¹⁶.

At first sight, the Priestly writings in the Pentateuch ¹⁷ seem to imply the most egalitarian approach toward aliens. P forbids oppressing them, orders the Israelites to "love them as yourself" (Lev 19,33-34) ¹⁸, and entitles aliens to some of Israel's agricultural yield (19,9-10; 23,22).

P also refers to aliens in its cultic legislation. Circumcised aliens may eat of the Passover (Exod 12,43-49; Num 9,14). They should avoid leaven during the unleavened bread festival (Exod 12,19) and must afflict

Ezekiel's land granting for aliens. However the exact meaning of לבוא בקהל is uncertain, and it does not necessarily relate to land granting. See, e.g., J.H. TIGAY, *Deuteronomy* (JPS 5; Philadelphia, PA 1996) 209-213; R.D. NELSON, *Deuteronomy* (OTL; Louisville, KY 2002) 278.

¹⁵ The analogy of the *ger* to Israel's status in Egypt in this order's reasoning, "for you were aliens in the land of Egypt" (Deut 10,19), would make sense only if the *ger* was a non-Israelite. See MILGROM, *Leviticus* 17-22, 1495.

¹⁶ A similar notion is reflected in Ps 146,7-9 where God provides complete solutions to the causes of distress. He opens the eyes of the blind (and not only provides them guidance), and he lifts those who are bowed down etc. Nevertheless, regarding the aliens, God only "watches over" them, and does not grant them land. In other words, he does not remove the cause of their weakness which requires their protection from the outset.

¹⁷ The direction of influence between Ezekiel and the Priestly writings is a matter of debate. Some argue that Ezekiel preceded and influenced the Priestly writings. See, e.g., J. WELLHAUSEN, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin 1905) 377-378; J. LUST, "Exodus 6,2-8 and Ezekiel", in *Studies in the Book of Exodus. Redaction-Reception-Interpretation* (ed. M. VERVENNE) (Leuven 1996) 209-224; C. NIHAN, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch* (FAT 2/25; Tübingen 2007) 543-545. According to this opinion, the Priestly writings could not have influenced Ezekiel's prediction regarding aliens. However, I accept the opinion of others who maintain that in the majority of cases the Priestly writings as a whole — both P and H (hereafter referred to together as P) — preceded Ezekiel and had a major influence on his perceptions, language, and style. See, e.g., M. FISHBANE, *Text and Texture. Close Readings of Selected Biblical Texts* (New York 1979) 131-132; J. MILGROM, *Leviticus* 23-27 (AB 3c; New York 2001) 2352-2363; R. LEVITT KOHN, *A New Heart and a New Soul. Ezekiel, the Exile and the Torah* (JSOTSup 358; London 2002); M.A. LYONS, *From Law to Prophecy. Ezekiel's Use of the Holiness Code* (New York 2009). Regarding Ezek 47,22-23 it should be noted that the term אזרח ("native") appears only once in Ezekiel, and its meaning is understood only in light of its occurrences in other sources. P.M. KONKEL, *Architektonik des Heiligen. Studien zur zweiten Tempelvision Ezechiels* (Ez 40-48) (BBB 129; Berlin 2001) 360-365, maintains that Ezek 47,22-23 can be seen neither as the "nucleus" of the conception of *ger* in H and P, nor as an attempt to complete H and P's legislation. He assumes, rather, a theological discourse discussed in both the priestly texts and Ezekiel.

¹⁸ Like Deut 10,19, the reasoning of this order, "for you were aliens in the land of Egypt", makes sense only if the *ger* refers to non-Israelites.

themselves and do no work during the Day of Atonement (Lev 16,29). Like Israel, they are not allowed to eat blood (Lev 17,10.12.13), they must avoid “abominations,” including Molech worship (Lev 18,26; 20,2), and they are to be executed by stoning for cursing God (Lev 24,16.22) ¹⁹.

The equality between aliens and Israel in sacrificial laws indicates that aliens could participate in other parts of Israel’s cult as well (Num 15,14-16). P assumes that aliens may bring offerings (Lev 17,8-9) and demands that they would be unblemished (22,18). Likewise, P’s rules about sacrifices for unintentional sins also apply to aliens (Num 15,22-29). Since P assumes that aliens might enter the tabernacle, it applies the purification rules to them as well (Lev 17,16-17; Num 19,10).

Are we to find in these regulations and especially in the recurring formula, *יהיה לכם כנר כאזרח יהיה* “You shall have one law for the alien and for the citizen” (Lev 24,22; see also Num 35,15.19), evidence of P’s egalitarian approach toward aliens? It seems that here, as well, the answer is negative ²⁰. Indeed, unlike the other Pentateuchal codes, P not only imposes various obligations on Israel in relation to aliens, but also imposes direct obligations on the aliens themselves ²¹. However, this imposition is not absolute, and there is no complete equation between aliens and natives in P.

Thus, for example, an alien *may* choose to be circumcised and eat the Passover, but he does not have to do so, and, unlike the Israelites, he would not be exposed to *כרת*, being cut off (Gen 17,14; Num 9,13). Unlike the Israelites, aliens do not have to slaughter their animals at an authorized altar (Lev 17,3-4), they may eat an animal’s suet (Lev 7,23-25) ²², and they are explicitly excluded from the festival of booths (Lev 23,42) ²³. These

¹⁹ See S.M. OLYAN, *Rites and Rank*. Hierarchy in Biblical Representations of Cult (Princeton, NJ 2000) 70.

²⁰ JOOSTEN, *People*, 63-70, demonstrates that the very form of the Priestly commands does not entail general legal equivalence. They address the Israelites alone and refer to the aliens in the third person, showing that they do not have full legal status. Moreover, in most of the cases, the formula, “You shall have one law”, is limited to the cultic prescriptions concerned and does not have a general force.

²¹ See B.J. SCHWARTZ, *The Holiness Legislation* (Jerusalem 1999) 358-361 [Heb.].

²² See JOOSTEN, *People*, 65-66; MILGROM, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1419. In both cases the addressees are Israel alone and not the aliens residing among them (but see LXX to Lev 17,3: ἢ τῶν προσηλυτῶν τῶν προσκειμένων ἐν ὑμῖν, which like Lev 17,8.10.13 refers to aliens as well).

²³ JOOSTEN, *People*, 68-69, 72; ALBERTZ, “Aliens”, 61; C. NIHAN, “Resident Aliens and Natives in the Holiness Legislation”, in *The Foreigner and the Law*. Perspectives from the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East (eds. R. ACHENBACH – R. ALBERTZ – J. WÖHRLE) (BZAR 16; Wiesbaden 2011) 111-134, here 115, 130, claims that Lev 24,15 reveals H’s assumption that unlike the Israelites aliens may worship their own god(s). This, however, was refuted convincingly by MILGROM, *Leviticus 23–27*, 2115-2119;

major differences between aliens and native-Israelites are clear indications that the *gerim* in the Priestly legislation are not proselytes. In the words of Christophe Nihan: “The term גֵּר, in H, continues to designate a ‘resident alien’ [...] The postulated transformation, in H, from a socio-economic to a predominantly *religious* category is simply mistaken”²⁴.

It seems that P imposes obligations on aliens only in cases where their actions might affect the purity of the land and the tabernacle. According to P, severe impurities might cause God to leave his land and make the land itself to “vomit” out its inhabitants (Lev 18:24-28). In this regard, it does not matter whether the impurity was caused by an Israelite or an alien. Both live in God’s land and in proximity to his tabernacle. Since the actions of aliens might affect their Israelite neighbors, P imposes some cultic obligations on them as well²⁵. However, *partial* equal obligations does not necessarily imply *complete* equal rights, and there are further indications that P never intended to eliminate the status difference between Israelites and aliens.

First, even if the alien somehow managed to acquire land, this acquisition is not permanent, and the land would eventually return to its original owner at the Jubilee, making the alien landless once again. The metaphorical language used in this Priestly law emphasizes that aliens, by their very definition, cannot obtain permanent possession of the land: “The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is Mine, for you are but aliens and residents with Me” (Lev 25,23). Here, in the words of Saul Olyan, “the defining characteristics of a resident outsider are a lack of a property holding and residence with and dependence upon a patron who holds property and who allows some of it to be used by the resident outsider”²⁶.

Second, in the only occurrence where P mentions the aliens together with the root נָחַל, “to inherit, possess”, the object of inheritance is not the land but rather the aliens themselves who would be an inheritance for Israel: “You may also acquire them from among the residents dwelling

S. CHAVEL, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography in the Torah* (FAT 71; Tübingen 2014) 38-39, who show that it is unlikely that H would be tolerant of idolatry in the land.

²⁴ NIHAN, “Resident Aliens,” 116-117. According to NIHAN, the major difference between the legal collections is that in the Covenant Code and Deuteronomy the *ger* is a dependent resident alien, while in H, in spite of his foreign origin, he is economically independent.

²⁵ See also RAMÍREZ KIDD, *Alterity*, 71; WEINFELD, *Deuteronomy*, 229-232. Milgrom proposes that the guiding principle is different: aliens are bound by the prohibitive commandments, but not by the performative one. See MILGROM, *Leviticus 17–22*, 1982; J. MILGROM – D.I. BLOCK, *Ezekiel’s Hope. A Commentary on Ezekiel 38–48* (Eugene, OR 2012) 244-246.

²⁶ OLYAN, *Rites*, 69.

with you, and from their families that are with you, who they bore in your land; and they may be your property. You may pass them on as an inheritance for your children after you, for them to possess as property. These you may treat as permanent slaves” (Lev 25,45-46). Unlike native-Israelites slaves who are freed at the Jubilee, the sons of aliens may be enslaved for life. Ezekiel’s use of the same language and theme that appears in P (אשר הולידו בננים בתוכם, Lev 25,45 // אשר הולידו בננים בארצכם, Ezek 47,22) highlight’s P’s original intention and Ezekiel’s polemic tone: Ezekiel in fact is reversing the legal norm stressed by his predecessors ²⁷.

We may conclude that none of the Pentateuchal traditions contains any tendency to equalize the rights of the aliens to those of the native-Israelites, which could have instructed or inspired Ezekiel in his description of Israel’s future. The collective memory of having been aliens in Egypt and the rightness of behaving humanely towards aliens were no doubt deeply rooted sentiments in the Israelite imagination ²⁸. However, these sentiments never resulted in granting them an inheritance in Israel’s land. Ezekiel in this case introduces a revolutionary and unprecedented change in Israel’s socio-economic structure ²⁹.

II. MESOPOTAMIAN LAND GRANTING PRACTICES

Since the biblical traditions neither order nor anticipate granting land to aliens, perhaps Ezekiel’s Mesopotamian cultural environment might shed new light on the socio-historical background from which his innovative idea emerged. Several important contributions in this direction have been made in scholarship. Moshe Weinfeld has discussed two types of official judicial documents relating to land granting in ancient Mesopotamia. The

²⁷ As shown by B.M. LEVINSON, “The Birth of the Lemma: The Restrictive Reinterpretation of the Covenant Code’s Manumission Law by the Holiness Code (Leviticus 25:44–46)”, *JBL* 124 (2005) 617–639, this Priestly regulation is, by itself, a reinterpretation of earlier legal materials. M. FISHBANE, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford 1985) 119, depicts these verses as Ezekiel’s “eschatological reversal of Lev 25:45–46”. LYONS, *Law to Prophecy*, 133–134, maintains that Ezekiel did not only raise the aliens to a new status as landowners but also denied the priestly notion that the children of aliens could be sold as slaves. See further MILGROM – BLOCK, *Ezekiel’s Hope*, 243–244. According to N. WAZANA, *All the Boundaries of the Land. The Promised Land in Biblical Thought in Light of the Ancient Near East* (trans. L. QEREN) (Winona Lake, IN 2013) 178–182, Ezekiel’s polemic against the Priestly tradition that preceded him is also evident in the significant changes he introduces in the land’s internal division among the tribes.

²⁸ I am grateful to Aslan Cohen-Mizrahi for discussing this point with me.

²⁹ See J.D. LEVENSON, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48* (HSM 10; Cambridge 1976) 121–123; W. Brueggemann, *The Land. Place as Gift, Promise, and Challenge in Biblical Faith* (OBT; Philadelphia, PA 1977) 143.

first is the political treaty in which the vassal obligates himself to his suzerain, and land is granted as an inducement for future loyalty. The second, the royal grant, constitutes an obligation of the suzerain to his vassal meant to protect his rights in the given land, and it serves as a reward for loyalty and good deeds already performed ³⁰. Following Weinfeld's work, David Engelhard has demonstrated how several components of the Mesopotamian royal land grant genre are evident in Ezek 47,13 – 48,29 ³¹. Engelhard himself acknowledges two issues that might constitute a difficulty in the designation of this passage as a "royal grant". Firstly, these grants were usually made to individuals and not to entire nations, as is the case in Ezek 47,13 – 48,29. Secondly, it is less probable that Ezekiel who repeatedly maintains that the destruction was a result of Israel's past abominations (Ezekiel 1–24) would consider Israel worthy of a grant which usually rewards past loyalty. Nonetheless, Engelhard maintains that granting land to the entire nation can be viewed as a prophetic adaptation of this Mesopotamian genre, and that contrary to its Mesopotamian origin this adaptation indeed expects future loyalty from a new and purified Israel.

More recently, Nathanael Warren maintains that interpreting Ezek 47,13 – 48,29 only through the lens of the classical royal grant genre ignores Ezekiel's evident focus on the temple and its proper function in this passage. He thus proposes a closer ancient Near Eastern parallel, the temple land grants, evident in both ancient Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts. These grants express concern for the tenure of temple lands and offerings, and, contrary to the royal grants, their focus is not on rewarding the grantees but rather on enabling them to fulfill their role in the temple cult. Therefore, in many cases, and especially in grant renewals, the motivation for the grant was solely the fact that the grantees are the heirs of the grant's original recipients ³². Warren also acknowledges that, contrary to Ezek 47,13 – 48,29, temple grants were usually given to individuals and not to entire clans or nations, and, like Engelhard, he maintains that Ezek 47,13 – 48,29 is a unique prophetic adaptation of this ancient Near Eastern genre.

³⁰ M. WEINFELD, "The Covenant of Grant in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East", *JAOS* 90 (1970) 184-203. It should be noted however, that Weinfeld's argument regarding a recognizable "land grant genre" was challenged by G. KNOPPERS, "Ancient Near Eastern Royal Grants and the Davidic Covenant", *JAOS* 116 (1996) 670-697.

³¹ D.H. ENGELHARD, "Ezekiel 47:13-48:29 as Royal Grant", in *Go to the Land I Will Show You. Studies in Honor of Dwight W. Young* (eds. J. COLESON – V. MATTHEWS) (Winona Lake, IN 1996) 45-56.

³² N. WARREN, "Tenure and Grant in Ezekiel's Paradise (47:13-48:29)", *VT* 63 (2013) 323-334.

It seems, however, that these two insightful works might explain the Mesopotamian background for future land (re)granting to Israel, but not to aliens. According to Engelhard, land will be granted to purified and reformed Israel with the expectation of future loyalty. However, the purification with pure water and the granting of a new heart and spirit (Ezek 11,19-20; 36,24-28) are mentioned only in relation to Israel and not regarding aliens who might live among them. Even if we accept Warren's compelling argument that granting land to Israel was meant to guarantee the proper function of the temple, this goal could have been achieved even if aliens did not receive land but continued to work as laborers for their Israelite landlords, who in turn would provide for the temple's needs.

In a different study, Warren maintained that the specific granting of land to aliens derives from ancient Near Eastern adoption documents where outsiders were appropriated into the local kinship group, thus becoming legal heirs of ancestral property. Thus, the aliens were adopted and accounted as native-born Israelites, allowing them to receive an inheritance³³.

However, adoption formulas such as "I will be a father to him, and he will be a son to me" (e.g., 2 Sam 7,14) do not appear here³⁴. The words *והיו לכם כאזרח בבני ישראל* "You shall treat them as Israelite citizens" (Ezek 47,22) cannot be considered an adoption formula that justifies a land grant. As mentioned above, this formula occurs several times in P, but in none of the cases does it grant aliens land rights. Moreover, adoptions in the ancient Near East were mostly intra-family and were motivated by the adopter's interests (e.g., a childless adopter's interest to secure service and support in his old age), matters that are less relevant in the case of granting land to aliens³⁵. Furthermore, in cases of adoption and inheritance, the heir steps into the shoes of the ancestor, becoming the landowner in his place. This does not fit Ezekiel's (and P's) perception that

³³ N. WARREN, "Adoption-Alienation in Ez 47,22.23 and in the Ancient Near East", *ZAW* 126 (2014) 421-424.

³⁴ For a study of biblical and ancient Near Eastern adoption formulas and their relationship to land inheritance, see S.M. PAUL, "Adoption Formulae: A Study of Cuneiform and Biblical Legal Clauses", *Maarav* 2/2 (1979-1980) 173-185; J. MELNYK, "When Israel was a Child: Ancient Near-Eastern Adoption Formulas and the Relationship between God and Israel", *History and Interpretation. Essays in Honor of John H. Hayes* (eds. M.P. GRAHAM – W.P. BROWN – J.K. KUAN) (Sheffield 1993) 245-259. Adoption appears as a legal metaphor in Ezekiel 16 as shown by M. MALUL, "Adoption of the Foundlings in the Bible and Mesopotamian Documents: A Study of Some Legal Metaphors in Ezekiel 16.1-7," *JSOT* 46 (1990) 97-126. This prophetic unit however relates to the adoption of Israel and not of foreigners, and Israel's dealings with foreigners (who were not adopted) lead to God's wrath.

³⁵ See J. OELSNER – B. WELLS – C. WUNSCH, "Mesopotamia — Neo-Babylonian Period", *A History of Ancient Near East Law*, Vol. 2 (ed. R. WESTBROOK) (Leiden 2003) 936-938.

God is the land's sole owner, ארצי (Ezek 36,5; 38,16; Lev 25,23), while Israel is merely a holder on his behalf.

And finally, the examples *par excellence* from Nuzi mentioned by Warren depict fictitious adoptions, legal disguises that were meant to enable the sale of otherwise inalienable land. The seller would adopt the buyer through a formal "adoption document" (*tuppi mārūti*) thus presenting the transmission of the land as anticipated bequest, and the newly adopted son would give his new father a *qištu* ("gift"), which, whether coincidentally or not, exactly matched the land's value ³⁶. However, it seems less probable that Ezekiel would use this fictitious and unique business practice to depict Israel's ideal future.

I would like to propose that the background to Ezekiel's prediction of future land granting to aliens lies in a different Mesopotamian economic institution: the land-for-service system. This system is well-documented in material findings from Ezekiel's exact time period and geographic area and might serve as a more accurate background than other legal institutions that are dated to much earlier periods or documented in forms that were unlikely to be accessible to him.

III. THE LAND-FOR-SERVICE SYSTEM

Recent studies of the history and economy of Babylonia in the sixth to fifth centuries BCE have improved our understanding of its system of land tenure and taxation through the land-for-service system. In this system, in the words of Michael Jursa, "numerous individuals and groups of individuals, often of non-Babylonian origin, were assigned land — gardens, or more often fields — by the crown, or its representatives. In return, they owed service as soldiers and/or corvée workers as well as taxes paid in kind and (increasingly) in money. The estates in question were often situated on recently reclaimed or even marginal land [...] In this way, the land-for-service system served both to integrate foreign groups into the society and the fabric of the state and to extend the range of state-controlled agriculture into otherwise under-exploited areas" ³⁷.

³⁶ See C. ZACCAGNINI, "Land Tenure and Transfer of Land at Nuzi", *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (ed. T. KHALIDI) (Beirut 1984) 79-94, who maintains that these adoption contracts "are nothing more and nothing less than outright sales" (82); IDEM, "Nuzi", *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, Vol. 1 (ed. R. WESTBROOK) (Leiden 2003) 604-605; M.P. MAIDMAN, *Nuzi Texts and Their Uses as Historical Evidence* (ed. A.K. GUINAN) (SBLWAW 18; Atlanta, GA 2010) 143-161.

³⁷ M. JURSA, "Taxation and Service Obligations in Babylonia from Nebuchadnezzar to Darius and the Evidence for Darius' Tax Reform", *Herodot und das Persische*

In many cases, the assigned land was named after the *ilku* (“obligations”) of its grantee. The holder of a *bīt qašti* (“bow land / fief”) had to serve as or with a bowman or pay a substitute to replace him in this service. Likewise, the terms *bīt sīsī* (“horse land”) and *bīt narkabti* (“chariot land”) indicated the military obligations of their holders. Many of these landholders were grouped together in large administrative units called *haṭru* that consisted in several landholders who often shared a common ethnic, geographic or professional background. Each *haṭru* was supervised by a *šaknu* (“superintendent”) who was responsible for allocating the fiefs and collecting the *imittu* / *sūtu* (“imposts”) due from them, either by himself or through his *dēkū* (“tax summoner”) ³⁸.

Although the most elaborate form of the land-for-service system is known from the Persian period Murašû archive, this system had its roots undoubtedly in earlier Neo-Babylonian practice ³⁹, and the recent publication of the Āl-Yāhūdu tablets ⁴⁰ indicates its bearings on the lives of the first Judean exiles in Babylonia. This archive consists of various administrative and commercial documents, with a major group written in Āl-Yāhūdu (“Judah Town”), reflecting the known practice to name new minorities’ settlements in Babylonia after their original dwelling places ⁴¹. Since the tablets are of unknown provenance, the exact location of this settlement, and others mentioned in the archive, is not known. However, a reasonable assumption widely accepted today locates Āl-Yāhūdu in the agricultural periphery between Nippur and Uruk ⁴².

Weltreich — Herodotus and the Persian Empire. Akten des 3. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema ‘Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen’, Innsbruck, 24.-28. November 2008 (eds. R. ROLLINGER et al.) (Classica et Orientalia 3; Wiesbaden 2011) 431-448, here 435; IDEM, *Aspects of Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC* (AOAT 377; Münster 2010) 198-205, 246-240.

³⁸ See M. STOLPER, *Entrepreneurs and Empire*. The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and the Persian Rule in Babylonia (PIHANS 54; Istanbul 1985) 24-27; G. VAN DRIEL, *Elusive Silver*. In Search of a Role for a Market in an Agrarian Environment. Aspects of Mesopotamia’s Society (PIHANS 95; Leiden 2002) 226-273; T. ALSTOLA, *Judeans in Babylonia*. A Study of Deportees in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 109; Leiden 2020) 108-110.

³⁹ See JURSA, *Economic History*, 247, and the archives mentioned there; IDEM, “Taxation”, 435; VAN DRIEL, *Elusive Silver*, 237; ALSTOLA, *Judeans*, 108-110.

⁴⁰ L. PEARCE – C. WUNSCH, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer* (CUSAS 28; Bethesda, MD 2014).

⁴¹ See I. EPH’AL, “The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th-5th Centuries B.C.”, *Orientalia* 47 (1978) 74-90; L.E. PEARCE, “Identifying Judeans and Judean Identity in the Babylonian Evidence”, *Exile and Return*. The Babylonian Context (eds. J. STÖKL – C. WAERZEGGERS) (BZAW 478; Boston, MA 2015) 7-32.

⁴² PEARCE – WUNSCH, *Documents*; ALSTOLA, *Judeans*, 107-108, mention several localities appearing in the corpus (e.g., Nippur, Karkara, Kēš, Bīt-Amūkāni, the Sîn canal, Ḥamat, and Ḥazatu) which suggest that the countryside surrounding Nippur is the most probable

The archival context of these tablets is a matter of debate which is yet to be decided ⁴³. Anyway, one tablet, of a group drafted in the vicinity of Āl-Yāhūdu, mentions the town of the Kabar canal ⁴⁴, which is also mentioned as proximate to the residence of Ezekiel and his community (Ezek 1,1) ⁴⁵. Furthermore, the Āl-Yāhūdu tablets document more than 75 Judean names, in a location where they represent a significant percentage of the town's population ⁴⁶, between the years 572-477 BCE. Thus, regardless of the Āl-Yāhūdu tablets' archival origin, they are still a significant source of information that can shed new light on the lives of the first Judean exiles in Babylonia in general, and especially those who lived in Ezekiel's vicinity and were probably part of his audience.

The Āl-Yāhūdu tablets clearly indicate that the Judean exiles in Babylonia were part of the land-for-service sector. CUSAS 28 2, issued during Nebuchadnezzar's reign, mentions the pledging of a *bīt azanni* ("quiverfief") belonging to a Judean named Šidqī-Yāma. In CUSAS 28 7, issued in Āl-Yāhūdu in 551 BCE, a Judean named Rapā-Yāma is obligated to pay an amount of barley to Enlil-šar-ušur ⁴⁷. The barley is defined as

geographical setting for these texts. P. ZILBERG, *At the Gate of all Nations. A Study of Displaced and Migrant Minority Groups in the Center of the Persian Empire* (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2019) 138-141, adds an analysis of the different canals appearing in the corpus to sustain this geographical identification.

⁴³ PEARCE – WUNSCH, *Documents*, 7-9, divide the tablets into three groups, each reflecting a separate archive belonging to a different protagonist acting in a different location. C. WAERZEGGERS, "Review Article — Laurie E. Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer* Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (CUSAS) 28", *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 33 (2015) 179-194, maintains that the state, through its scribes, should be identified as the archive-producing institution behind at least some layers of the corpus.

⁴⁴ See F. JOANNÈS – A. LEMAIRE, "Contrats babyloniens d'époque achéménide du Bît-Abī Râm avec une épigraphe araméenne", *RA* 90 (1996) 41-59, here 50 (tablet 7, line 5).

⁴⁵ Clearly, it cannot be concluded without doubt that Ezekiel lived in Āl-Yāhūdu. R. ZADOK, "Notes on Syro-Palestinian History, Toponymy and Anthroponymy", *UF* 28 (1996) 721-749, proposes that there were several canals bearing the name Nār Kabari. C. WAERZEGGERS, "Babylonians in Susa — The Travels of Babylonian Businessmen to Susa Reconsidered", in *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court* (eds. B. JACOBS – R. ROLLINGER) (Wiesbaden 2010) 777-813, maintains that the Kabar canal was a long trading route between Babylon and Susa, which had several entries, one of them near Ezekiel's dwelling place.

⁴⁶ See L.E. PEARCE, "Judean: A Special Status in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Babylonia", *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period. Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (eds. O. LIPSCHITS – G.N. KNOPPERS – M. OEMING) (Winona Lake, IN 2011) 267-277.

⁴⁷ The creditor's name seems Babylonian. However, "DN-protect-the-king" name types are generally regarded as *Beamtennamen*, indicative of persons (of both Babylonian and non-Babylonian origin) who work or seek a career in the royal administration; see, e.g., M. JURSA, "Families, Officialdom, and Families of Royal Officials in Chaldean and

makkūr šarri (“royal property”), related to a *sūtu* (“payment”), and is to be paid at the *rab mūgi* estate⁴⁸. This indicates that Rapā-Yāma deals here with the Babylonian administration and was compelled to pay some of his yield to the crown as part of the “land-for-service” system. CUSAS 28 12 mentions a Judean’s *ilku* (“obligation”) paid to a Judean *dēkū* (“tax summoner”). Further tablets mention bow-fiefs held by Judeans⁴⁹, the *imittu* (“payments”) they incurred and the royal officials to whom they were paid⁵⁰. In some cases, payments relating to several Judean landholders were formally owed by individuals who acted as collecting agents for their peers⁵¹. Indeed, there is no mention of a Judean *haṭru* in the *Āl-Yāhūdu* tablets. However, other terms such as *šušānū* and *kišru*, which designate groups of landholders in the land-for-service system, do appear⁵² and indicate the socio-economic status of the Judean exiles or their descendants in the *Āl-Yāhūdu* area.

IV. EZEKIEL AND THE LAND-FOR-SERVICE SYSTEM

There are many unique similarities between the land-for-service system and Ezekiel’s land granting to aliens which make this system the most fitting background for Ezekiel’s innovative prediction.

First, contrary to Mesopotamian royal and temple grants, both Ezekiel and the land-for-service system grant land to a sector that contains numerous individuals of foreign origin, and not just to certain individuals who were associated with the royal court or the temples. The Neo-Babylonian crown granted land to many non-Babylonian exiled minorities. Likewise, Ezekiel predicts land assignment to multiple non-Israelite aliens. In this

Achaemenid Babylonia”, *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East*. Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome, 4–8 July 2011 (ed. A. ARCHI) (Winona Lake, IN 2015) 597–606. Therefore, the possibility that Enlil-šar-ušur was not of Babylonian origin cannot be ruled out. Indeed, the *Āl-Yāhūdu* tablets mention a Judean named both Bēl-šar-ušur and Yāhu-šar-ušur. See CUSAS 28 2–4; PEARCE – WUNSCH, *Documents*, 99.

⁴⁸ This title refers to a senior military commander in charge of the cavalry. See the רב מן in Jer 39,3, and D. VANDERHOOF, *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the Latter Prophets* (Atlanta, GA 1999) 149–152. Like many other high-ranking officials, this commander also received estates in the *Āl-Yāhūdu* region.

⁴⁹ See CUSAS 28 14 (passim); 15 (passim). For bow-fiefs held by individuals of other origin see 27:1; 49:1.

⁵⁰ See CUSAS 28 14:11; 15:21; 19:2; 20:2; 21:1; 24:1; 33:1; 35:2; 39:1; 53:1.

⁵¹ See CUSAS 28 14:14; 15:22; 19:2.

⁵² See CUSAS 28 15:21; 16:4; 18:7; 19:2; 20:2; 21:2; 23:1, 8–9; 25:4; 26:5; 33:2. According to STOLPER, *Entrepreneurs*, 71; ALSTOLA, *Judeans*, 109, the term *haṭru* starts to appear in Babylonian sources only in the mid-fifth century BCE.

regard, it is very easy to imagine why Ezekiel, himself an alien in a land that was not his who most probably was familiar with these land grants, would apply the same approach toward other aliens in different circumstances.

Second, the characteristics of the assigned land in both cases are similar. The Neo-Babylonian crown generally granted exiled minorities land in marginal zones that had suffered demographic and economic decline, and the new settlers were supposed to reclaim the area⁵³. Likewise, Ezekiel's ideological framework considers the entire land of Israel as "marginal". Ezekiel predicts that Israel's desolate land that was completely depopulated ("desolate so that no one would pass through", Ezek 14,15; see further 33,28) and uncultivated during the exile ("The desolate land will be cultivated instead of being a desolation", 36,34-35) will be reclaimed and repopulated by Israelites and non-Israelites alike during Israel's restoration⁵⁴.

Third, in both cases land granting is intended to fulfill the grantor's economic goals⁵⁵. The Neo-Babylonian land-for-service system was designed to benefit the empire's economy by cultivating under-exploited areas. Likewise, in Ezekiel's restoration program, the purpose of land assignment to Israelites and aliens alike was to benefit the temple's economy: "the entire people of the land shall give this offering to the prince in Israel", which provides "for meal offerings, burnt offerings, and well-being offerings" (45,15-16)⁵⁶.

⁵³ See M. JURSA, "The Neo-Babylonian Empire", *Imperien und Reiche in der Weltgeschichte*. Epochenübergreifende und globalhistorische Vergleiche 1. Imperien des Altertums, Mittelalterliche und frühneuzeitliche Imperien (Wiesbaden 2014) 121-148.

⁵⁴ Since Ezekiel predicts that Israel will return to a land that was completely desolate, one might wonder who are these aliens "residing among you". Three possible explanations might be proposed. The first, "historical" in character, is that Ezekiel refers here to the existence of non-Israelites who integrated into the Judean exiles' community in Babylonia and were considered worthy of taking part in Israel's restoration. However, neither the Hebrew Bible nor Neo-Babylonian documents contain any evidence to sustain this hypothesis. The second, "literary" explanation would point to several biblical traditions which assume that aliens' existence among Israel began even before the Israelites themselves inherited the land (see Exod 12,38; Num 10,29; 11,4; Deut 1,16; 29,9-12; Josh 8,33-35). Since in many cases Ezekiel depicts Israel's restoration as a second exodus (see, e.g., Ezekiel 20), it is possible that he also maintained that in this exodus from exile, aliens will join Israel. The third, "rhetorical" explanation is that by granting aliens land within the native-Israelites' territories God reminds the Israelite addressees that they as well are nothing more than temporary aliens in his land.

⁵⁵ In this respect I accept the overall argument of WARREN ("Tenure") regarding the focus of Ezekiel 40-48 on the Temple's tenure.

⁵⁶ The term עַם הָאָרֶץ has a long history of interpretation. Many have maintained that this is a technical term denoting a leading group of landed aristocracy, while others prefer the literal meaning denoting the entire population of the land. For a survey of scholarship

And eventually, in the Neo-Babylonian land tenure system full possession of alienable land was the privilege of Babylonia's urban elite (mainly the priests and prosperous families). Exiled minorities and other native recipients of royal land through the land-for-service system could only enjoy permanent holding rights of land that could be leased or pledged but could not be completely alienated⁵⁷. This may constitute another feature that made Ezekiel consider the land-for-service system worthy of implementation also in Israel's future restoration. As mentioned earlier, the Priestly writings in the Pentateuch, which had a crucial impact on Ezekiel's thought, prohibited the complete alienation of land and ordered that land sold or leased would return to its original owner at the Jubilee (Lev 25,13). It seems that the notion that "the land shall not be sold in perpetuity", together with its rationale that God's ownership of the land made even the Israelites themselves resident aliens (Lev 25,23), could have caused Ezekiel to favor a system which grants to aliens land that could not be completely alienated⁵⁸.

Perhaps Ezekiel's demand that only aliens who have begotten children among Israel would be entitled to land inheritance is also connected to this issue. This demand has received several explanations in scholarship⁵⁹.

and a new, idiomatic interpretation, see J.T. THAMES, Jr., "A New Discussion of the Meaning of the Phrase *'am hā'āreš* in the Hebrew Bible", *JBL* 130 (2011) 109-125. Thames has shown convincingly that Ezek 45,22 and 46,16 use this term in cultic circumstances where wide participation is expected, and there is no reason to assume that only a select group of people would be referred to. Ezekiel's use of this term is consistent with that of P and relates in this case to all who are under the jurisdiction of the law, native Israelites and resident aliens alike. In this respect, Ezekiel mentions only tax and not service obligations. Nevertheless, service obligations imposed on Israelites and aliens alike are known from both pre-exilic and post-exilic biblical traditions (see e.g. Josh 8,21-22; 1 Sam 8,11-17; 1 Kgs 5,26-32; Nehemiah 3). It seems that Ezekiel did not intend to abolish this ancient royal prerogative but rather focused on his major innovation — land granting to aliens.

⁵⁷ See STOLPER, *Entrepreneurs*, 25; JURSA, "Taxation", 440; ALSTOLA, *Judeans*, 160, 221.

⁵⁸ It should be noted that the Neo-Babylonian society included several types of laborers, such as the *aššābu* and *naiīālu* who were residents (in some cases aliens) on someone else's land. See VAN DRIEL, *Silver*, 207-208; K. KLEBER, "Dependent Labor and Status in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods", *What's in a Name? Terminology related to the Work Force and Job Categories in the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. GARCIA-VENTURA) (Münster 2018) 441-466. Their status was similar to the Pentateuchal aliens and Ezekiel could have left the aliens' status the way he knew it. Therefore, his application of the land-for-service system on aliens would reflect a deliberate choice acknowledging its merits.

⁵⁹ COOK, *Ezekiel* 38–48, 524-526, maintains that it served as an incentive to multiply the population. EICHRODT, *Ezekiel*, 592, claims that it was meant to guarantee that aliens' land would be inherited by their descendants. ZIMMERLI, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 532; BLOCK, *Ezekiel* 25–48, 718; and OLYAN, *Rites*, 156, all propose that its aim was to ensure that only aliens who resided among Israel for a significant amount of time (enough to beget several children) would be eligible for land grants.

However, if the land-for-service system is taken into consideration, another explanation might emerge. Since this system required land holders to supply manpower to military and royal expeditions, it involved, on principle, extended families and not individuals ⁶⁰. Only large social units could continue cultivating the land even with the absence of one of their members. It seems, then, that Ezekiel's demand was meant to make sure that the alien grantee is a member of a larger social unit which could guarantee the fulfillment of his duties.

These distinctive resemblances should not surprise us. The land-for-service system was extremely prevalent in Nippur's hinterland in the Neo-Babylonian period ⁶¹, the very place and era in which most of the Judean exiles lived. Therefore, it is highly reasonable that this system which affected the lives of almost every exile would also have some impact on the prophet's thought.

Nevertheless, beside these resemblances, one may notice a significant difference between the land-for-service system and Ezekiel's application of it. The land-for-service system was mandatory, and, since granting unalienable land was meant to constrain and bind them to their holdings, exiled minorities could not renounce their "privilege" to hold land ⁶². Land granting to aliens in Ezekiel, in contrast, is voluntary. Aliens are not forced to reside among Israel. Instead, they choose to do so, and their right to receive an inheritance is a derivative of this choice.

This indicates that while adopting some aspects of the Neo-Babylonian land tenure system, Ezekiel rejects the obligatory character of the land grant. As a member of the community of the Judean exiles in Babylonia, he must have experienced the hardships of those forced to live as minorities in a foreign land. While describing Israel's future, he remembers that he himself is an "alien in the land of Babylonia" and chooses to reveal some degree of empathy with other displaced minorities who will share a similar fate.

V. FURTHER IMPLICATIONS FOR EZEKIEL SCHOLARSHIP

The conclusions of this article may have significant implications for the study of the book of Ezekiel. Regarding the exegesis of Ezek 47,22-23,

⁶⁰ See van DRIEL, *Silver*, 270.

⁶¹ See JURSA, "Taxation", 432, who points out that "Nippur was quite isolated. Its agrarian regime exhibits few signs of the trend towards an intensification of cultivation [...] this is the reason that there was so much space for an expansion of the land-for-service system to the benefit of newly arrived foreign groups".

⁶² See STOLPER, *Entrepreneurs*, 82.

our findings may contribute to the scholarly debate over two questions. The first is what sort of integration does Ezekiel anticipate for aliens? Many scholars maintain that Ezekiel introduces an inclusive vision which anticipates a complete cultic and religious integration of aliens into the restored Israelite society⁶³. However, the use of lot terminology (יפלו, תפלו, 47,22) indicates that Ezekiel refers to a certain formative one-time event which will occur after Israel will be restored to its land, and not to a recurring practice. Only when the land is redistributed to restored Israel, the aliens who reside among them in that time will receive their shares as well. However, from then on, land ownership will be transmitted through bequests, and newcomer aliens will not be eligible for land grants⁶⁴. Therefore, Ezekiel's prediction does not convey a continuing inclusive approach toward aliens⁶⁵. Furthermore, if Ezekiel indeed adopts here the land-for-service system, then the degree of assimilation he envisions is far more modest. Neo-Babylonian texts indicate that neither the Judean exiles nor other non-Babylonian minorities were completely integrated into the Neo-Babylonian society, not to mention its cultic community. In the first generations after their detachment from their homeland, most of them resided in minority communities, and their contacts with their Babylonian neighbors were probably mainly economic. This kind of integration seems to be what Ezekiel anticipates for aliens, and in this regard⁶⁶ he maintains the differentiation between natives and aliens attested in the Pentateuchal legal codes.

⁶³ See, e.g., OLYAN, *Rites*, 73, who maintains that Ezekiel is fully assimilating the alien "into the lineage and inheritance structure of the society [...] this radical reform envisioned by Ezek 47:22-23 represents the granting of (fictive) kinship to the resident outsider; he becomes at last a brother rather than an other". MILGROM, *Leviticus 17-22*, 1500, considers Ezekiel's order to be the "first step — a giant one — on the road to conversion". See further ZIMMERLI, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 532; BLOCK, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 717-718.

⁶⁴ This constitutes another resemblance to the land-for-service system. Several Āl-Yāhūdu tablets mention half and quarter bow-fiefs held by second and third generation exiles (see, e.g., CUSAS 28 14; 15). This indicates that in many cases land assignment was not a recurring phenomenon, and that, after the original allocation, fiefs were divided through inheritance (see also STOLPER, *Entrepreneurs*, 26).

⁶⁵ This, partial-inclusive approach toward outsiders is not necessarily consistent with other approaches manifested in Ezekiel toward fellow-Judeans. For a comprehensive discussion of this issue, see D. ROM-SHILONI, *Exclusive Inclusivity. Identity Conflicts between the Exiles and the People who Remained (6th-5th Centuries BCE)* (LHB 543; London 2013) 139-197.

⁶⁶ See further the exclusion of בני ישראל, "all the foreigners who are among the sons of Israel", from the Temple (Ezek 44,9). Another confirmation of this conclusion may be found in the fact that, contrary to P and Ezek 44,7,9, Ezek 47,22-23 does not mention circumcision as a prerequisite for inheritance, but only that the alien would have begotten children. This indicates that land assignment by itself does not integrate aliens into the cultic community.

The second question relates to the dating of Ezek 47,22-23. Many scholars maintained that these verses (if not Ezekiel 40–48 entirely) are post-exilic and reflect the historical circumstances that existed after the return to Zion and the renewed settlement in the land ⁶⁷. However, the land-for-service system is well-documented already in Neo-Babylonian documents, proving that Israel was granted land even while in exile. This allows an exilic context for this prophetic unit and does not necessarily require a post-exilic dating.

More broadly, the findings of this study may impact our understanding of two major issues in Ezekiel scholarship. The first relates to the way Ezekiel conceives Israel's future international relationships. Ezekiel's application of the land-for-service system to aliens depicts restored Israel as a generous empire which assigns land shares to the minorities under its dominion. This indicates that Ezekiel does not expect a radical change in the way the world is ordered. Empires existed before Israel's destruction and will continue to exist even after Israel's future restoration. However, Israel's restoration will introduce a significant change in the international balance of power and domination. The empires of the past will decline from their greatness, and Israel will become the Babylon-like suzerain which assigns land to its subjects ⁶⁸. In a sharp contrast to his present, Ezekiel does not call for an integration of the Judean exiles into the Babylonian society and state, but rather for a future integration of others into the society of the new empire — Israel.

The second relates to Ezekiel's exilic prism. Many contemporary studies deal with the influence of ancient Near Eastern literature on Ezekiel, and situate Ezekiel as a resident of one of Babylonia's main cities, who had social and cultural contacts with its educated elite. This has a crucial impact on Ezekiel's urban exilic experience and prism, and, no less importantly, on the persons and literary materials which could have been accessible to him and influenced his work. However, this study shows that the book of Ezekiel also contains prophetic units written from a quite different exilic prism — that of the inhabitants of the rural periphery, whose

⁶⁷ See, e.g., A. BERTHOLET, *Hesekiel* (HAT 13; Tübingen 1936) 170; WEVERS, *Ezekiel*, 338; VAN HOUTEN, *Alien*, 116; RAMÍREZ KIDD, *Alterity*, 76-77; S.S. TUELL, *Ezekiel* (NIBC 15; Peabody, MA 2009) 334-338. COOK, *Ezekiel 38–48*, 275, maintains that these verses reflect a polemic against those who chose to remain in Babylonia and not to return to Zion.

⁶⁸ Another manifestation of this notion may be found in Ezek 17,22-24. The two great eagles who resemble the two great empires, Babylonia and Egypt, will turn out to be just birds, and Israel's future leader is depicted in a manner similar to the one in which Nebuchadnezzar depicted himself in his royal inscriptions — as a giant cedar under whose protective shadow all the other peoples will live peacefully.

experience of exile, both in terms of locality and lifestyle, was completely different from that of those living in the cities. These units could have been written anywhere, even by an urban author who was familiar, from afar, with the hardships of the Judean exiles under the land-for-service system. However, it seems more reasonable to me that they were written by exilic authors who were part of the Judean community of exiles in Babylonia's agricultural periphery. Either way, in our attempt to understand the exilic prism(s) reflected in the book of Ezekiel and the exile's role in Israel's history, this rural prism must also be taken into consideration.

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SUMMARY

This article investigates the socio-economic background from which Ezekiel's expectation of assigning land to resident aliens emerged (Ezek 47,22-23). It claims that none of the Pentateuchal legal codes anticipates such assignment, thus making Ezekiel's expectation unique and innovative. Following an evaluation of former studies of this issue, the article claims that the background of Ezekiel's prediction of future land granting to aliens lies in a Neo-Babylonian economic institution: the land-for-service system. It surveys the similarities between this system and Ezekiel and concludes with considering the contribution of the findings to the study of the book of Ezekiel.

RHETORIC AND THE PROLOGUE OF JOHN: AN INVITATION TO A NEW CONVERSATION

While all admit that the Fourth Gospel has a distinctive “beginning”, which most call a “prologue”, there is little discussion of what they understand by the technical term “prologue”¹. Furthermore, while the history of scholarship on John 1,1-18 includes many different ways of considering it², studies of it in terms of rhetoric in general, and in particular specific rhetorical genres, are rare. This article wants to bring another conversation partner to the table to propose a different way of understanding it. The issue for consideration, then, is classical rhetoric: what it has to say about “beginnings”, and how this affects our reading of John 1,1-18.

There has always been considerable confusion on how to label 1,1-18, a problem observed many years ago and not yet solved. The following remarks succinctly summarize the complicated problem:

The “prologue”, as the section Jn 1:1-18 is ordinarily called, is not a literary preface like Lk 1:1-4. It is also somewhat different from the proem of 1 Jn 1:1-4, in spite of its many contacts with it in language and theology. In its present form, it is indissolubly linked with the Gospel itself, and it only remains to ask what is its point as the opening section. Should it be read apart from the body of the Gospel as a section with its own significance, or should it be taken as intrinsically connected with the Gospel? Is it a sort of overture which precedes the Gospel, to prepare for and intone the thought, an introduction to Christ or a hymn of praise, after which the Gospel narrative begins, or is it to be read as an integral part of the Gospel, as the “beginning” of the message [...] From the literary point of view the question may also be put this way: was the “prologue” added subsequently, as a fitting “introduction”, to a fully thought-out Gospel, or had it always been foreseen as part of the structure of the Gospel³?

¹ Recently, some scholars have turned to the work of E.W. SAID for insight into “beginnings”: *Beginnings*. Intention and Method (New York 1975). But Said’s study works out of a modern literary and philosophical context, which has almost no contact with classical rhetoric; he references — only in passing — Aristotle, Homer, Tacitus and Virgil. His impressive study offers no help for reading ancient literature.

² No reputable commentary on the Fourth Gospel can fail to produce such; for a recent example, see Johannes BEUTLER, *A Commentary on the Gospel of John* (Grand Rapids, MI 2017) 32-36.

³ R. SCHNACKENBURG, *The Gospel According to St. John* (New York 1968) 221.

The beginning of John has been labeled as a “prologue”⁴, “introduction”, “proem”⁵, “preface”⁶, “postface”⁷, and many other things. These labels may seem self-evident, but, because they deal with technical literary materials, the proper label should not be so lightly assumed to be clear. Moreover, the very plurality of the scholarly words used to label John 1,1-18 speaks to some confusion and shows a need for clarity. Whence can this clarity come? One way to achieve this is to consult what classical rhetoric has to say about “beginnings”, namely, the initial part of a speech or writing, which is called the *prooemium/exordium*. Where did it belong in a speech or writing? Of what did it consist? What conventions shaped its composition?

Once modern readers open the door to classical rhetoric, other possible considerations arise. “Beginnings” may be composed according to other rhetorical genres, which are available to us now, that is, genres taught in the rhetorical handbooks called the *progymnasmata*. In them we find exact definitions and discussions of genres such as *encomium*, *syncrisis*, and *narratio*, which have direct influence on how a proper “beginning” begins. And since the beginning of an oration or a *bios* is the natural and required place to establish the *ethos* of speaker or writer, readers should consider how the author of the Fourth Gospel constructs for Jesus a proper *ethos* as he begins his narrative. These, then, are the elements of rhetoric which we bring for a fresh consideration of John 1,1-18.

Many questions may be asked of John 1,1-18. What advantage is there in considering anew the beginning of John in terms of rhetoric⁸? The simplistic answer is that as a writer of Greek prose, the author had some formal education, which consisted primarily of rhetoric. We know, moreover, that virtually all orators and speakers at that time learned to communicate by virtue of rhetorical training⁹. And the author of the Fourth

⁴ See E. HARRIS, *Prologue and Gospel*. The Theology of the Fourth Evangelist (Sheffield 1994) 14-16.

⁵ C.H. DODD, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge 1970) 292-296.

⁶ A.T. ROBINSON (“The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John”, *NTS* 9 [1993] 124-125) states: “The *Prologue* is [...] like most *prefaces*, written after the work it *introduces*, drawing its themes together. It is a definite addition more like a *preface* to a second addition — setting the original work in a new context” (emphasis added).

⁷ W. KELBER (“The Birth of a Beginning: John 1:1-18”, *Semeia* 52 [1990] 140) concludes his study with this term, arguing that it represents a retrospective of the transcendental and earthly beginnings of the Logos.

⁸ When scholars are willing to call the conclusion of the Gospel an “epilogue”, they are implicitly using rhetorical materials; see J.A.T. ROBINSON, “The Destination and Purpose of the Johannine Epistles”, *NTS* 7 (1961) 57-59. See also, J.H. NEYREY, “In Conclusion [...] John 12 as a Rhetorical Peroratio”, *BTB* 37 (2007) 101-113.

⁹ R.F. HOCK, “Observing a Teacher of *Progymnasmata*”, *Ancient Education and Early Christianity* (eds. M.R. HAUGE – A.W. PITTS) (London 2016) 39-70.

Gospel was no different. Furthermore, when modern readers of John know the rhetorical genres taught in progymnastic training, they are less likely to be impressionistic in their reading and less ethnocentric in imagining the cultural world in which Gospel literature was produced. Study of rhetoric may also school modern readers to recognize more easily and accurately what the ancients wrote, how they composed their works, and why they wrote. Not only did writers use rhetoric, but their native audiences were aware of and expected presentations in the only language available, rhetoric. The menu for this brief study, then, is rhetoric, and our immediate task is to study it and then see what it contributes to a better, that is, a native, reading of John 1,1-18.

I. HOW DO RHETORICAL “BEGINNINGS” BEGIN?

Since Aristotle, students of rhetoric learned that an oration was composed of certain conventional parts: “The necessary parts of a speech [...] are four in number, *prooemium/exordium*, statement, proof, epilogue” (*Rhet.* 3.13.4) ¹⁰. Thus, an *exordium* belonged at the very beginning of a composition — a proper beginning; but of what did a proper *exordium* consist? About this, Aristotle said:

In speeches and epic poems the exordia provide a *sample of the subject*, in order that the hearers may know beforehand *what it is about*, and that the mind may not be kept in suspense, for that which is undefined leads astray; so then he who puts the beginning (*archēn*), so to say, into the hearer’s hand enables him, if he holds fast to it, to follow the story (*Rhet.* 3.14.6, emphasis added).

An *exordium*, then, should have an organic relationship to what follows. Aristotle, moreover, compared rhetorical beginnings with how other types of literature and music began, thus providing another important clue to their content and purpose.

The *exordium* is the beginning (*archē*) of a speech, as the *prologue* (*prologos*) in poetry and the *prelude* (*proaulion*) in flute-playing; for all these are *beginnings* (*archai*), and as it were *paving the way for what follows*. The *prelude* resembles the exordium of epideictic speeches; for as flute-players begin by playing whatever they can execute skillfully and attach it to the key-note, so also in epideictic speeches should be the composition of the exordium; the speaker should say at once whatever he likes, give the key-note and then attach it to the main subject (*Rhet.* 3.14.1, emphasis added).

¹⁰ Except for the *progymnasmata*, all texts and translations from Greek and Roman literature are quoted from the respective volumes of the Loeb Classical Library, Harvard University Press.

When rhetoricians, then, compose *exordia*, they understand them as “beginnings”, whose purpose is to inform an audience about what is to come, and thus to pave the way for what follows. It is, then, natural that a prologue provide a *sample* of what is to come, which could well be a plot or a summary of sorts. Therefore, commentators on John 1,1-18 who labor to show the connections between Prologue and Gospel are justified in their inquiry according to classical instructions for a “beginning” ¹¹.

Fifty years ago, J.A.T. Robinson produced the following example of the relationship of Prologue to Gospel. In citing him, we are not endorsing his topics or his correlations between Prologue and Gospel; but because his observations became a classic model of this for others, it can serve us well as a starting point.

The pre-existence of the Logos or Son	1,1f. and 17,5
In him was life	1,4 and 5,26
Life is light	1,4 and 8,12
Light rejected by darkness	1,5 and 3,19
Yet not quenched by it	1,5 and 12,25
Light coming into the world	1,9 and 3,19; 12,46
Christ not received by his own	1,11 and 4,44
Being born of God and not of flesh	1,13 and 3,6; 8,41f.
Seeing his glory	1,14 and 12,41
The only-begotten Son	1,14.18 and 3,16
Truth in Jesus Christ	1,17 and 14,6
No one has seen God, except the one who comes from God's side ¹² .	1,18 and 6,46

Prologues, as such, should have such a relationship to what follows. And they should contain some synopsis of a plot or mention of its major themes. Although commentators today need to argue this, classical rhetorical “beginnings” did this as a matter of course. Rhetoric, then, can speak to this conversation. Moreover, as understood in classical rhetoric, “prologue” is the proper label for John 1,1-18.

¹¹ ROBINSON, “The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John”, 122. Whereas Robinson consolidated his observation, M.E. BOISMARD conducted this study throughout his book, *St. John's Prologue* (Westminster, MD 1957). More recently, see D.A. CARSON, *The Gospel according to John* (Leicester 1991) 1-3; and in particular, HARRIS, *Prologue and Gospel*.

¹² ROBINSON, “The Relation of the Prologue to the Gospel of St. John”, 122. He calls this a “list of themes”, which crimps what materials he sees as common to Prologue and Gospel; moreover, he simply “excludes narrative connections with John the Baptist”.

II. ENCOMIASTIC "ORIGINS"

The rhetorical genre *encomium* also has a bearing on understanding 1,1-18. As students of *progymnasmata* know, an *encomium* for a person begins at the beginning of the story of a person's life, revealing the "origins" of a person, which includes both geographical and generational origins¹³. In the beginning, the geographical location of the Logos is in a heavenly, not an earthly realm, which is not to say that he has no geographical location, except that it does not begin on earth¹⁴. It is common knowledge that the ancient cosmos was thought of as multi-layered, occasionally four layers (Job 11,7-9), but more generally in terms of three layers: heaven, earth, the sea (Rev 5,13; Phil 2,10). The Most High God, to be sure, is enthroned high above the heavens; and so, even heaven and the heavens had a geography. Put simply, the cultural meanings of "space" and "place" in antiquity, which are definitely not those of modern readers, imagine that the Logos was *somewhere*¹⁵.

Moreover, geography in the Fourth Gospel proves to be a controversial issue, which has an immediate bearing on the current discussion of the "origins" of the Logos (1,1). In a previous study of this topic, I identified many different categories that the author used for classifying "place" in the Gospel, all phrases frequently found in the document itself. Since they contribute to understanding the geography of the Logos and then of Jesus, we do well to recognize them.

1. "Whence and whither"¹⁶
2. "Descent and ascent"¹⁷
3. "From above and from below"¹⁸
4. "Coming and going"¹⁹

¹³ Mention of these "topics" can be found in R.A. BURRIDGE, *What Are the Gospels? A Comparison with Graeco-Roman Biography* (Waco, TX 2018) 141, 173, 201; for a fuller discussion of them in terms of the genre *encomium*, see J.H. NEYREY *An Encomium for Jesus*. Luke, Rhetoric, and the Story of Jesus (Sheffield 2020) 18-28.

¹⁴ What is needed is a scholarly investigation of what "place and space" mean in ancient literature, and in the Fourth Gospel in particular; see J.H. NEYREY, "Spaces and Places, Whence and Whither, Homes and Rooms: 'Territoriality' in the Fourth Gospel", *BTB* 32 (2002) 60-75.

¹⁵ Prepositions such as *pros* often express location; *where* is the Logos? In some sense it is located *before* God. And *epi* in 1,18 also implies location.

¹⁶ J.H. NEYREY *The Gospel of John* (Cambridge 2007) 144-145, 283. Sometimes only "whence" matters, but other times only "whither".

¹⁷ NEYREY, *The Gospel of John*, 46-47, 82. See W.A. MEEKS, "The Man from Heaven in Johannine Sectarianism", *JBL* 91 (1972) 44-72.

¹⁸ NEYREY, *The Gospel of John*, 156-157.

¹⁹ NEYREY, *The Gospel of John*, 235.

5. "Nazareth/Galilee and Bethlehem" ²⁰, a debate which could disqualify his role and status.

Direction also implies geography; from heaven to earth, descent before ascent, etc. Moreover, these data in the Gospel are generally presented in terms of double-meaning words and according to the common pattern of statement/misunderstanding. And so, geographical materials, which pervade both Prologue and Gospel, are intended to be examined carefully, even as they prove to be controversial. It is clear, then, that the Fourth Gospel is much concerned with geography, both heavenly and earthly.

As regards generational beginnings, nothing is clear in the beginning for the Logos, until the end (1,18), where the unique Son is located "in the bosom of the Father", which then clarifies the double mention of the Logos initially as *pros ton theon* (1,1.2). Later, this Logos is also referred to as having "glory as of the only Son of the Father" (1,14), which serves to clarify his (heavenly) generational origins. As was the case with Jesus' geography, we also find controversy in the Gospel about Jesus' generational origins ²¹. We notice, then, that in 1,1-18 the author speaks to a generational relationship between the Logos/Jesus and God in terms of Son and Father.

This relationship, so clear in the beginning, becomes a common, but central topic of debate in the narrative that follows. Like geography, all discussion of Jesus' earthly generation involves controversy. In two places, the identity of Jesus' earthly father is known, neither mention of which honors Jesus in any way. Philip tells Nathaniel about Jesus' geographical and generational origins, "Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (1,45), about which Nathaniel only expresses scorn. In John 6, Jesus keeps talking about a Father, a heavenly one, from whom he has "come down". His audience, however, challenges this: "Is not this Jesus, the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" (6,42). Knowing native understandings of geographical and generational origins, one can then observe them in the Prologue and so connect them with the major controversies which swirls around them in the Gospel narrative. Therefore, once modern readers know about the rhetorical genre *encomium*, its description of "origins"

²⁰ NEYREY, *The Gospel of John*, 126, 144, 149. W.A. MEEKS, "Galilee and Judea in the Fourth Gospel", *JBL* 85 (1963) 159-169.

²¹ "Generational" origins in 1,1-18 begin with *ho logos* being *pros ton theon*, although no specific relationship is articulated (except that someone has to speak for there to be "a word"); but this figure becomes "the only Son from the Father" (1,14), is then named "Jesus Christ" (1,17), and is located as "the only Son, who is in the bosom of the Father" (1,18). Moreover, this figure gave power for believers "to become children of God" (12). Needless to say, "generational" origins are of concern to the author.

confronts them directly. A native way of understanding them, then, urges a conversation with corresponding data in the Prologue.

III. ENCOMIASTIC *SYNCRISIS*

Another rhetorical genre, *syncrisis* ²², appears to be operative in the Prologue. The purpose of a *syncrisis* was to compare and contrast persons (and things). Although many have noted certain “juxtapositions” in John 1,1-18 ²³, they seem surprised to find them in so formal a place as a prologue; and even when observed, commentators do not recognize them in terms of the common rhetorical genre *syncrisis*. Knowledge of this rhetorical genre urges us to evaluate those “juxtapositions” in ways which were conventional to ancient authors and audiences, and so provide modern readers with fresh insights. To begin with, these common contrasts have been observed often between both persons and things.

1. Jesus is superior to Moses, because “The law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ” (1,17).
2. Jesus is superior to John in two ways, first, because “[John] was sent [...] to witness to the light [...] he was not the light but came to witness to the light” (1,7-8), and second, because “He who comes after me ranks before me, for he was first” (1,15) ²⁴.
3. Jesus is superior to all patriarchs and prophets, because “No one has ever seen God [...] the only Son has made him known” (1,18) ²⁵.
4. Contrasting reactions to Jesus are also reported: “He came to his own, and his own received him not [...] but as many as received him [...]” (1,10-11).

And when things are compared, we observe that light contrasts with darkness (1,4-5), heaven with earth, and flesh with glory (1,14).

²² Much scholarly attention has recently been given to the genre *syncrisis*; see, e.g., M.W. MARTIN, “Progymnastic Topic Lists: A Compositional Template for Luke and Other *Bioi*?” *NTS* 54 (2008) 18-41, here 24; M.C. PARSON – M.W. MARTIN, *Ancient Rhetoric and the New Testament. The Influence of Elementary Greek Compositions* (Waco, TX 2018) 231-274.

²³ They are also called “antitheses”. See HARRIS, *Prologue and Gospel*, 48-50, 64-65, 87-90.

²⁴ The primary discussion about John in the Prologue has centered around its legitimacy there: was it part of an original prologue or added later? Many see it as interrupting the Prologue and wish it away. See Morna HOOKER, “John the Baptist and the Johannine Prologue”, *NTS* 16 (1970) 354-358.

²⁵ See J.H. NEYREY, *The Gospel of John in Cultural and Rhetorical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, MI 2009) 90-95.

To be sure, attention to comparisons and antitheses has a long scholarly history. But that is not the point. They are almost never considered in terms of the conventional genre which was taught to all rhetorical students; both author and audience knew it. Knowing the genre *syncrisis* can go a long way to focus a modern reader's attention on materials often ignored, which can then provide a native's way of considering it. Rhetoric has something to add to the conversation.

Furthermore, recognition of the rhetorical genre *syncrisis* might also encourage readers to give closer scrutiny to what commentators call *chiasmus*. Reading 1,1-18 as a chiasm is now the standard way of discussing it, and there is much to commend in this approach. It is no surprise that *syncrisis* has not been invited to the party, since the dominant paradigm seems to be *chiasmus*, that is, some form of bilateral symmetry. Indeed, the tide has been steadily rising for *chiasmus*, as has been traced in essays such as the one by Brad McCoy²⁶. He has narrated the long history that *chiasmus* had in ancient literatures, both secular and biblical²⁷. It has an established pedigree. But the rhetorical genre *syncrisis* has not yet been given a voice.

What's at stake here? *Chiasmus* enjoys wide acceptance as an appropriate and productive way of reading John 1,1-18²⁸. It is the establishment's paradigm. Here, however, is not the time or place to engage in a discussion of it in any detail. But, chiasmic structures privilege "parallels", considering them identical or equal, a judgment often based on the descriptive categories which commentators themselves create for them²⁹, which impose notions of "parallel" or "parity" or "identity". One major problem resulting from this easy fit is that scholars interpreting 1,1-18 as a *chiasmus*

²⁶ B. McCoy, "Chiasmus: An Important Structural Device Commonly Found in Biblical Literature", *CTS Journal* 9 (2003) 18-34. Available at <http://www.chafer.edu>. His bibliography is complete and up-to-date.

²⁷ Indeed, long before the term "chiasm" emerged, there were many examples of it in ancient writings, including Sumero-Akkadian and Ugaritic texts, the Hebrew scriptures, and classical Greek literature. See McCoy, "Chiasmus", 22-28.

²⁸ R.A. CULPEPPER, "The Pivot of John's Prologue", *NTS* 27 (1980) 1-31. See also, N.W. LUND, "The Influence of Chiasmus on the Structure of the Gospels", *ATR* 13 (1931) 27-48, 405-433, and his *Chiasmus in the New Testament. A Study in Formgeschichte* (Chapel Hill, NC 1942).

²⁹ For example, BOISMARD (*St. John's Prologue*, 80) considers v. 3 as "his role in creation" parallel to v. 17 "his role in recreation"; but in the first instance "through him" seems like a role, but the true agent of "creation" is only working "through him". Moreover, it is an imaginative stretch to apply "creation" in any sense to v. 17. McCoy ("Chiasmus", 29) puts vv. 4-5 as God's "grace to mankind" ("life" and "light") on a par with another "God's grace to mankind" ("fulness [...] grace upon grace") in v. 16; but the reference in vv. 4-5 is to the Logos and in v. 16 to "his fullness". Moreover, "grace" is a technical term, which should not be used lightly in vv. 4-5, and further analysis of vv. 16-17 is needed, where the actual term *charis* is used in a very specific way.

do not agree on what is parallel or according to what category. *Chiasmus*, moreover, generally argues for a center or thematic pivot, which is also highly controversial³⁰. The soft spot in accepting chiasmic structure lies in how the “balanced sides” are construed: are they mere parallels and repetitions? Are difference and distinction in each ignored?

We know, moreover, of many *syncrises* in 1,1-18, as noted above. This alone urges readers to allow re-consideration of those so-called parallel materials in ways that express comparisons and contrasts, not simply parallels or parity. This means that we should now briefly compare and contrast *chiasmus* with *syncrasis*, to present readers with reasons for allowing a different paradigm for reading 1,1-18. Four things, then, should be examined: (1) the rhetorical relation of *syncrasis* with *chiasmus*; (2) the contents of the so-called parallels; (3) whether the “parallels” are identical or different; and (4) whether there is a pivot in the chiasm and, if so, what “primacy” it deserves, questions which do not apply to a *syncrasis*.

First, how do *syncrasis* and *chiasmus* differ? A *syncrasis* is a comparison/contrast, in which a superior thing is compared to a good one. Its comparisons are generally made according to typical categories for a *syncrasis*, namely the common topics of an *encomium*. Moreover, it intentionally steps beyond mere noting of “parallels”, to declare that one of the persons in this or that category has “more” of something or is “better/superior” in some regard. A *syncrasis* does not seek balance or parity, but the promotion of one of the persons or things being compared.

A *chiasmus*, however, refers simply to a grammatical structure. It may exist on a sentence level (“Don’t sweat the petty things, and don’t pet the sweaty”), or on a larger structural level³¹. On a small point, it might be simply a matter of repetition of certain words; for example, of John Chrysostom it was said, “*Praedicator regum, rex praedicatorum*”³². If comparison = *syncrasis*, *chiasmus* = structure. While *syncrasis* aims at promotion, *chiasmus* serves as an organizing technique and as a memory device.

Second, the conventional contents of a *syncrasis* are taken from encomiastic topics. As Aphthonius said, “As a whole, *syncrasis* is a double *encomium* or an invective or a speech made out of an *encomium*”³³.

³⁰ R.A. CULPEPPER (“The Pivot of John’s Prologue”, 1-31) presents major examples of this to serve as foils for his own interpretation.

³¹ See MCCOY. “Chiasmus”, 22-29.

³² Caution is needed here, for classical rhetoric has a distinct term for a mere repetition of words in an inverted or transposed order, namely *antimetabolē*. For example, “You forget what you want to remember, and remember what you want to forget”.

³³ APHTHONIUS, “*Preliminary Exercises* of Aphthonius the Sophist”, # 31R (emphasis added); translated by G.A. KENNEDY, *Progymnasmata*. Greek Textbooks of Prose

There are, in contrast, no designated topics for a *chiasmus*. Third, since a *syncrisis* aims to compare and contrast, it simply is not interested in “parallels”, that is, of balanced structure for its own sake. Not so *chiasmus*, where similarities, which are noted and repeated, are normal, expected, and sufficient. Finally, a *syncrisis* focuses on no particular item, other than an encomiastic topic; but a *chiasmus* often has a central focus, a pivot, or a main point to make.

Distinguishing *syncrisis* from *chiasmus* brings a reader to a fork in the road. We already know the results of chiastic reading, but what happens when the same materials are examined as *syncrises*? New questions arise, such as the following. Is the Logos *pros ton theon* in 1,1-2 simply identical with the *monogenēs* in the bosom of the Father in 1,18? Is *pros* identical with *eis*? Does it matter that Logos descended, but *monogenēs* seems to ascend? “Descent” seems to describe the trajectory of vv. 1-14, but does the same apply to vv. 14-18? Has anything happened to the main figure, any change? A circular “movement”, to what purpose? Merely ornamental? Furthermore, John’s witness to the light (vv. 6-8) is hardly the same as his later witness, “He who comes after me ranks before me, for he was before me” (v. 15). Is the latter witness better than the first? Or what? Finally, is the “gift” in vv. 16-17 (“grace upon grace [...] grace and truth”) greater/lesser than or equivalent to “the power he gave” (v. 12)? Moreover, who is “giving” in vv. 4-5? in vv. 16-17? The same figure? In v. 4 “life” and light” are *in*, presumably, the Logos; but in v. 17 “grace and truth” happen *through* Jesus Christ. Surely such differences matter. Since *syncrisis* is evident in 1,1-18, it would seem that rhetorical contrasts might be found in what are often called “parallels”. Mere parallels or repetitions seems to ignore what is actually said in each. Rhetoric, then, invites a new conversation.

IV. *NARRATIO*

Inasmuch as the function of a proper *exordium* is to provide “a sample of the subject [...] in order that the hearers may know beforehand what it is about”, an author could be expected to suggest a plot with a beginning, middle, and end. Some sort of narrative trajectory would be appropriate, along with some indication of topics and themes to be considered. Observations about chiastic or parabolic structure should be considered here

because in the eyes of some they are said to convey some “movement”, and so some “narrative”.

While one might imagine that each implies some sense of “movement”, that would be to give each a meaning which is not found in ancient rhetoric. How tempting it is to envision “descent” balanced by a comparable “ascent”. As we noted, *chiasmus* expresses structure; comparably, *parabolē* speaks to comparison, as in a simile ³⁴. Neither has anything to do with “plot” or narrative movement; neither deals with beginning, middle and ending. Hence, we may dismiss them from a consideration of the rhetorical genre *narratio*. When scholars describe any movement in 1,1-18 as “parabolic”, they are not using the term according to its common rhetorical meaning. But neither *chiasmus* or *parabolic* should be taken to indicate movement of any kind, movement with a beginning, middle, and end. Thus, *parabolē* is only a synonym for comparison or *synkrisis*, but not for *narratio*.

Studies of typical *exordia* are quite at home with suggestions of some hint of a plot or narrative. But what, however, is meant by *narratio*, at least in emic or rhetorical terms ³⁵? According to Aelius Theon, “Elements of narrative are six: the person, whether that he is one or many; the action done by the person; the place where the action was done; and the time at which it was done; and the manner of the action; and sixth, the cause of these things” ³⁶. As one would expect, he defines each of these according to the cultural canons of his time, which meanings are probably strange or unnecessary for a modern reader. So, let us listen to him:

1. *Person*: origin, nature, training, disposition, age, fortune, morality, action, speech, (manner of) death, and what followed death ³⁷.
2. *Action*: great or small, dangerous or not, possible or impossible, easy or difficult, necessary or unnecessary, advantageous or not, just or unjust, honorable or dishonorable.
3. *Time*: what has gone by, what is present, what is going to be; what was first or second and so on; or what is appropriate to life in our time, what in ancient times.

³⁴ See H. LAUSBERG, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden 1998). Lausberg discusses *parabolē* three times, always understanding it in terms of comparison or similitude (§§ 181-182, 395, and 846.2); Greek lexica agree, except that they indicate comparisons from nature, or from imaginative things. One is inclined to see it as a simile, rather than a comparison.

³⁵ PARSONS – MARTIN, *Ancient Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 71-108.

³⁶ Aelius THEON, “The Exercises of Aelius Theon”, #78; KENNEDY, *Progymnasmata*, 28.

³⁷ These are, of course, the common topics of an encomium.

4. *Place*: size, distance, near a city or town, whether sacred or unhallowed, deserted or inhabited, flat or mountainous, dry or wet, barren or wooded.
5. *Manner*: unwillingly or willingly [...] willingness: things done in the light, which may be seen. Inasmuch as all of his actions are altruistic, they are noble.
6. *Cause* of actions: to acquire good things or to escape from evil, or from friendship or because a wife or for children or out of the passions (*"Exercises"*, 78-79).

First of all, it has been shown that *narratio* is a suitable genre for use in both concise as well as extended documents ³⁸. The following, moreover, are suggested correlations between the genre *narratio* and John 1,1-18.

1. *Person*: The Logos *pros ton theon* "became flesh", and then was the "only" Son.
2. *Action*: His actions include "all things made through him"; "he enlightens every man"; "he gave power to become children of God"; "he dwelt among us"; he channeled "grace and truth"; and "he made known the Father". These actions, moreover, were "great", "necessary", "advantageous", "just", and "honorable".
3. *Time*: According to modern chronology, the Word is before time ³⁹; but he may also be considered to have three times: *was*, *is*, and *will be*. Moreover, "he was before John is", and actions, such as when he pitched his tent, have a chronology to them ⁴⁰. "*When*" does 1,18 occur?
4. *Place*: The Logos/Son occupy several geographical places which correspond to where the actions take place ⁴¹. In one sense he is before place, since "place" was made *through* him; "where" he is, then, is a sacred and secure space, since the Word is *pros ton theon*. But he pitches his tent among his own, which is an unhallowed place because there light is in conflict with darkness (v. 5) and because he was not

³⁸ PARSONS – MARTIN, *Ancient Rhetoric and the New Testament*, 100-101.

³⁹ But what conception of time are we using? See B.J. MALINA, "Christ and Time: Swiss or Mediterranean?" *The Social World of Jesus and the Gospels* (London 1996) 179-214. At risk here is a latent ethnocentric understanding of "time".

⁴⁰ As a user of social science models for understanding categories such as "time" and "space", I take a cultural view of them, unlike the speculative or theological meanings suggested by commentators such as KELBER, "The Birth of a Beginning: John 1:1-18"; see J.H. NEYREY – E. ROWE, "Telling Time in the Fourth Gospel", *Hervormde Theologiese Studies* 64 (2008) 291-322.

⁴¹ As in the case of "time", so also we should consider emic or cultural meanings for "space". To avoid ethnocentric understanding of "space", see J.H. NEYREY, "Spaces and Places, Whence and Whither, Homes and Rooms: 'Territoriality' in the Fourth Gospel", 60-72.

received there (v. 11). However, at the conclusion he is back in hallowed space, “in the bosom of the Father” (v. 18).

5. *Manner*: The manner of his actions exemplifies willingness (things done in the light, which may be seen). Inasmuch as all of his actions are altruistic, they are noble.
6. *Cause*: The cause for his actions is completely honorable. Although he is not said here to be “sent” anywhere or “given” something to say when he pitched his tent, he will be both “sent” to speak and “given” power. But inasmuch as in the beginning he is *pros ton theon* and then “in the bosom of the Father”, it is implied that God is the cause of all the Logos’s activity and the agent of what God is saying (v. 18).

All six of the conventional element of *narratio* are evident, which at least suggest that John 1,1-18 be considered a narrative with a beginning, middle, and end.

Narratio, then, was one of the genres of the *progymnasmata*; and we now know the topics of which it consisted. Whether or not the correlations made here are plausible to modern readers, at least the case can be made that they have emic roots, and so are possible and are worthy of discussion. Once more, rhetoric invites a new conversation to consider John 1,1-18 in ways which correspond to those taught to writers in antiquity.

V. THE *ETHOS* OF THE LOGOS/SON/JESUS CHRIST

Knowledge of rhetoric urges us to push this one step further: might we not consider John 1,1-18 as the author’s establishment of the *ethos* of Logos, Son, and Jesus Christ? As all know, orators and writers must immediately establish an *ethos* both for themselves as communicators, and for the person about whom they speak (Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.2.5). A proper *ethos* for a character will argue that he is: (1) well informed, (2) virtuous, and (3) displays good will. The Logos, who is *pros ton theon* (1,1.2) is the figure who expounds God (*exēgēsato*, 1,18)⁴². He is, thus, superbly

⁴² Whether we translate *exēgēomai* as “report” or “expound” (BDAG 349), the term states that “the only Son” is communicating something. There is much interest in the relationship between Jesus’ *logoi* and his role as *Logos*, as articulated by M. THEOBALD: “The fact that it (the 4th Gospel) recognizes that Jesus’ significance lies in his faultless articulation as reliable messenger of the words of God by virtue of his own personal engagement, is sufficient ground to call him the Word himself, the exegesis of God” (*Die Fleischwerdung des Logos. Studien zum Verhältnis des Johannesprologs zum Corpus des Evangeliums und zu 1 Joh.* [Münster 1988] 301-302).

positioned to know and be informed. This knowledge is first declared by virtue of his being *Logos*; and it is special in that it is through this *Logos* that all things were made (1,3). His knowledge, moreover, is unique ⁴³ because “no one has ever seen God”, but the only Son (1,18). Second, his “virtue” is exemplified by his altruistic benefaction: (1) through him all things were made (1,3); (2) he is both “life” and “light” for human-kind; (3) “he gave power to become children of God” (1,12); (4) “grace and truth” came through him (1,17); and (5) he made God known (1,18). Third, in his continuous benefaction, he clearly displayed good will to all things created, things of the world and persons in it. Therefore, with a secure, noble *ethos*, Jesus’ paramount authority to speak and act are thus confirmed; he can and will act as the unique agent or mediator of God where his tent is pitched. Appreciating the placement of and importance of establishing a character’s *ethos* is yet another rhetorical way of understanding John 1,1-18. This has the added advantage of being part of the rhetorical training of an ancient writer. For modern readers, it provides an emic advantage. Moreover, appreciating what an *ethos* is and does, a reader of rhetoric justifiably gathers disparate items in the Prologue and legitimately makes of them a literary unity, namely, a proper *ethos*. Rhetorical establishment of an *ethos* has much to say to modern readers.

* *
*

In conclusion, classical and Hellenistic rhetoric provide new — to us, that is — ways of reading ancient literary works according to traditional, native conventions for composing “beginnings”. Reading in this way respects how writers were taught to write and how audiences were socialized to listen. Rhetorical materials, then, are hardly esoteric models being imposed on ancient documents, for they are the very native ways in which writers wrote and hearers heard. An added advantage accrues to us, namely, a safeguard against ethnocentric interpretations.

⁴³ Aristotle remarked: “A praiseworthy person is [...] the only one or the first or one of a few or the one who most has done something; for all these things are honorable [...] and if incitements and honors have been invented and established because of him [...] and if he was the first one to receive an encomium; and [if for him] statues were set up in the marketplace” (*Rhet.* 1.9.38). Lysias, an actual orator, wrote: “They were the first and only people in that time to drive out the ruling classes” (*Funeral Oration* 17-19). On the rhetoric of “uniqueness”, see J.H. NEYREY, “‘First’, ‘Only’, ‘One of a Few’, and ‘No One Else’”: The Rhetoric of Uniqueness and the Doxologies in 1 Timothy”, *Biblica* 86 (2005) 59-87.

It might be argued that a rhetorical reading is a facile, surface way of understanding a complex ancient text. But the aspects of rhetoric suggested here were the conventional ways in which various genres and structures were regularly employed in composition. We now have grounds to consider that a proper “beginning” (*prooemium/exordium*) generally contains indications of what is to follow, so an examination of the relationship of 1,1-18 to the Gospel is legitimate and necessary. The genre *encomium* urges that a person’s “origins” be noted (geographical and generational), a task proper to a beginning, when Logos, Son, and Jesus Christ are introduced. Moreover, conventional presentation of a person (or thing) can be achieved by the genre *syncrisis*, which enhances the honor of the person presented. Furthermore, inasmuch as a beginning suggests a plot with a beginning, middle, and ending, the genre *narratio* should be examined for what it says about the person presented (journey, progress, etc.). Finally, all of these rhetorical materials serve the purpose of establishing the *ethos* of the person presented, a task proper to a beginning. All of them invite a further conversation on 1,1-18.

A rhetorical reading of texts such as John 1,1-18 does not seek to challenge those produced by other forms of biblical scholarship, nor is that the intention here. All that is asked is that “rhetoric” have a voice at the table. A rhetorical reading, indeed, makes a significant contribution, which deserves to be recognized as a responsible conversational partner. I may, indeed, have overstated this or that item, but the project is not thereby vitiated. Since it is the business of conversation both to give and take, I ask only to submit this for conversation and see where it goes, once rhetoric is given a seat at the table.

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SUMMARY

The Prologue of John seems immune to consideration from the point of view of classical rhetoric. This study suggests five different rhetorical genres for reading it: *exordium* (prologue), *encomiastic* topics to describe a character, *syncrises* contrasting characters, the genre *narratio*, and the establishment of a character’s *ethos*. Only a survey of rhetorical items can be presented here; each will have to be argued more fully subsequently. But omission of these rhetorical materials in current scholarship on the Prologue ignores the conventional and native ways of writing and hearing it. Rhetoric contributes to fundamental understanding.

SCRIBAL HABITS IN JOHN 21:
A CODICOLOGICAL AND PARATEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF
SOME OF THE EARLY GREEK MANUSCRIPTS ¹

I. INTRODUCTION

Any discussion of John 21 is faced with literary-critical issues concerning the relationship of John 21 with the rest of the Gospel. Most scholars who enter into this discussion present their arguments exclusively from the linguistic, narrative, thematic and literary evidence ². They attempt to show that the language and style, narrative and literary features, themes and theology of John 21 are either more or less the same as in John 1–20, or that they are different from the rest of the Gospel. However, it is significant to note that scholars seldom present text-critical arguments based on the manuscript evidence of the Gospel of John. Although scholars discuss the text-critical issues within John 21 ³, they have largely ignored the text-critical study of John 21 in relation to John 1–20. Some scholars make stereotypical assertions that the Gospel of John was never circulated without chapter 21, or that there is no manuscript evidence for the absence of chapter 21, but without ever attempting to provide a full-fledged exposition of the textual evidence ⁴. Hence, in this paper, I intend to investigate

¹ My sincere thanks to Dr. Reimund Bieringer for his critical comments and our valuable discussions.

² I do not provide an exhaustive list of literature on the topic, but rather a few examples published since 2010: see, e.g., A.D. BAUM, “The Original Epilogue (John 20,30-31), the Secondary Appendix (21,1-23), and the Editorial Epilogues (21,24-25) of John’s Gospel. Observations against the Background of Ancient Literary Conventions”, *Earliest Christian History. History, Literature and Theology. Essays from the Tyndale Fellowship in Honour of Martin Hengel* (eds. M.F. BIRD – J. MASTON) (WUNT II/320; Tübingen 2010) 227-270; S.E. PORTER, “Jesus and the Ending of John’s Gospel”, *John, His Gospel, and Jesus. In Pursuit of the Johannine Voice* (Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge 2015) 225-245; and F.J. MOLONEY, “John 21 and the Johannine Story”, *idem, Johannine Studies 1975-2017* (WUNT 372; Tübingen 2017) 521-537.

³ See J.R. ROYSE, “A Text-Critical Examination of the Johannine Variation”, *Studies on the Text of the New Testament and Early Christianity. Essays in Honor of Michael W. Holmes on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (eds. D. GURTNER – J. HERNÁNDEZ, JR. – P. FOSTER) (NTTSD 50; Leiden – Boston, MA 2015) 258-286; and H.A.G. HOUGHTON, “A Flock of Synonyms? John 21,15-17 in Greek and Latin Tradition”, *Texts and Traditions. Essays in Honour of J. Keith Elliott* (eds. P. DOBLE – J. KLOHA) (NTTSD 47; Leiden – Boston, MA 2014) 220-238.

⁴ See R.E. BROWN, *The Gospel According to John (xiii-xxi)* (AB; Garden City, NY 1970) 1077; R. MAHONEY, *Two Disciples at the Tomb* (Frankfurt am Main 1974) 13; and D.A. CARSON, *The Gospel According to John* (PNTC; Grand Rapids, MI 1991) 667.

the relationship of John 21 to the preceding chapters in some of the early Greek New Testament manuscripts.

David Trobisch remarked that the New Testament manuscripts are not just the text of the author alone but “the result of the cooperation of publisher, author, editor, reader, and scribe”⁵. In antiquity, publishers required an exact measurement of the amount of text in a book to determine its price. Since authors were aware that their text would be transmitted without structural markers, they tried to help readers organize the text by incorporating signals such as “titles, summaries, parallels, pairs, lists, overviews, disclosure formulas etc.”⁶. Editors broke up long texts into volumes for the convenience of the publishers. Readers added dots and lines to break up the *scriptio continua* and to discern the word boundaries. Scribes copied the text, divided the columns, and marked the margins with notes and decoration. Apart from these textual features, there are also paratextual features (features other than the main text) in the early Greek New Testament manuscripts. One such feature is a certain pattern of demarcation at the beginning and the end of the book. Usually the book begins with the title of the book as its superscription, sometimes along with a minimal decoration, and it ends with the *coronis*, which was transformed over time from two decorative lines to box-shaped decorations⁷ and a subscription. Sometimes, the subscription at the end of the book was presented with illustrations or miniatures within a tailpiece.

In this discussion, the guiding questions are the following: How is John 21 copied and formatted in comparison to the rest of Gospel? How is the beginning of what we call John 21 structurally marked in relation to the preceding text? Where and how do the early Greek New Testament manuscripts conclude the Gospel of John? Although there are a vast number of manuscripts available for the study of the New Testament, I would like to focus only on some of the early Greek New Testament manuscripts. Among thirty-two papyri of the Gospel of John⁸, there are only four papyri

⁵ D. TROBISCH, “Structural Markers in New Testament Manuscripts: With Special Attention to Observations in Codex Boernerianus (G 012) and Papyrus 46 of the Letters of Paul”, *Layout Markers in Biblical Manuscripts and Ugaritic Tablets* (eds. M.C.A. KORPEL – J.M. OESCH) (Pericope 5; Assen 2005) 177-190, here 182.

⁶ See TROBISCH, “Structural Markers”, 184.

⁷ See G.M. STEPHEN, “The Coronis”, *Scriptorium* 3 (1959) 3-14, here 4.

⁸ See W.J. ELLIOTT – D.C. PARKER (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek IV. The Gospel According to St. John*. Edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (NTTS 20; Leiden – Boston, MA 1995) 1. The Papyri, which identifies twenty-three papyri containing portions of the Gospel of John. With the edition of M.W. HASLAM – L.C.A. JONES – F. MALTOMINI (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part LXV* (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 85; London 1998) LXV, four more papyri (P¹⁰⁶, P¹⁰⁷, P¹⁰⁸, P¹⁰⁹) were added to the list, and with R. HATZILAMBROU – P.J. PARSONS – J. CHAPA (eds.),

that contain the text of John 21 ($\mathfrak{P}^{59} = P.Colt$ 3; $\mathfrak{P}^{66} = P.Bodmer$ II; $\mathfrak{P}^{109} = P.Oxy.$ LXV 4448; $\mathfrak{P}^{122} = P.Oxy.$ LXXI 4806). Within these four papyri, \mathfrak{P}^{66} is dated to the third century and contains John 21 together with the other chapters. \mathfrak{P}^{109} and \mathfrak{P}^{122} are dated to the third and fourth centuries, respectively, and contain only a few verses of John 21. \mathfrak{P}^{59} attests to the entire Gospel of John (with lacunae) and is dated to the seventh century. Similarly, among seventy majuscule manuscripts of the Gospel of John⁹, there are only twenty-six majuscules that contain the text of John 21¹⁰. Among them, only majuscules \aleph A B C D W are dated between the third and the fifth century. However, since the goal of the present study is to understand the way the scribe presents the textual relationship of John 21 to the preceding text of the Gospel, I will analyse only *P.Bodmer* II (\mathfrak{P}^{66}) from among the papyri, and due to the constraint of space, I will treat in this essay only three majuscule manuscripts: Codex Sinaiticus (\aleph), Codex Alexandrinus (A), and Codex Vaticanus (B)¹¹. As each of these manuscripts is analysed, the focus will be to investigate how John 21 is codicologically composed, how John 21 is structurally delimited in comparison with other chapters, and finally where and how the early Greek New Testament manuscripts conclude the Gospel of John.

II. *P.BODMER* II (\mathfrak{P}^{66})

P.Bodmer II (\mathfrak{P}^{66}) is a codex that contains only the Gospel of John, which is generally dated to the third century¹² and comes from Jabal Abu

The Oxyrhynchus Papyri. Volume LXXI (Graeco-Roman Memoirs 91; London 2007), another four papyri were published ($\mathfrak{P}^{119-122}$). According to the recent list registered online at the Münster LISTE (accessed on 23 June 2020), one more papyrus (\mathfrak{P}^{134}) has been added to the list of papyri for the Gospel of John.

⁹ See U.B. SCHMID – W.J. ELLIOTT – D.C. PARKER (eds.), *The New Testament in Greek IV. The Gospel According to St. John*. Edited by the American and British Committees of the International Greek New Testament Project (NTTSD 37; Leiden – Boston, MA 2007) 2. The Majuscules.

¹⁰ The majuscule manuscripts that contain the text of John 21 in whole or in part are: A B C D E G H 017 L M N P S 030 W X 034 Γ Δ Θ Λ Π Ψ 045 0211.

¹¹ Although I have identified six majuscule manuscripts from the third to the fifth centuries, I am able to treat only three (\aleph A B) out of the six manuscripts in this paper due to the lack of space. However, I will undertake an investigation of the next three manuscripts (C D W) in a later study.

¹² This relatively wide consensus has been questioned by B. NONGBRI, “The Limits of Palaeographical Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of *P.Bodmer* II (\mathfrak{P}^{66})”, *MH* 71 (2014) 1-35, who assigns \mathfrak{P}^{66} to the fourth century. However, P. ORSINI – W. CLARYSSE, “Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography”, *ETL* 88 (2012) 443-474, assign the codex to the period from the middle of the third to the middle of the fourth century.

Mana (Dishna), where the manuscripts were usually well preserved ¹³. It contains seventy-five identifiable folios and twenty-three unidentifiable fragments ¹⁴, while preserving chapters 1,1 – 14,26 in relatively good condition and chapters 14,29 – 21,9 in a fragmentary condition ¹⁵. These leaves make up about thirty-nine sheets of papyrus, folded and arranged in quires to form seventy-eight leaves and one hundred and fifty-six pages. If these leaves are numbered consecutively, pages 35 to 38 (two folios/four pages) and 153-156 (two folios/four pages) are missing from the codex ¹⁶. As one examines the codex, it becomes evident that each page has a single column with a varying number of lines per column and a varying number of letters per line. This papyrus contains rudimentary punctuation with a high point at the end of a sentence and a double point at the end of a section. Each section begins in a new line with the first letter protruding into the left margin and preceded by a double point and line break. Similarly, P⁶⁶ has the superscription *ευαγγελιον κατα [ι]ωαννην* in the middle top margin of the first page and *kephalaia* (headings) within the text written on the top margin of the page. The *kephalaia* found in the papyrus are: *ινα κρινη τον κοσμον* on page 14; *τουτο γαρ εξ[στιν τ]ο θελημα* on page 39; *τινες εισιν οι μη πιστευοντες και* on page 43; *του αναβλεψαντος* on page 63; and *εαν δε πορευθω πεμψω [αυτον προς] υμας* on page 116. This papyrus has ample margins on all sides, and the numberings of the pages are placed on the right top margin in recto and on the left top margin in verso of the folios.

In *P.Bodmer II*, John 21 begins on page 150 (folio 75 verso) which exists in three fragments. Although the page number on folio 75 verso is

¹³ For an overview of the discussion on P⁶⁶, see J.R. ROYSE, “Chapter Seven: The Scribe of P⁶⁶”, IDEM, *Scribal Habits in Early Greek New Testament Papyri* (NTTSD 36; Leiden – Boston, MA 2008) 399-544. See also the recent overview by B. NONGBRI, *God’s Library. The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* (New Haven, CT – London 2018).

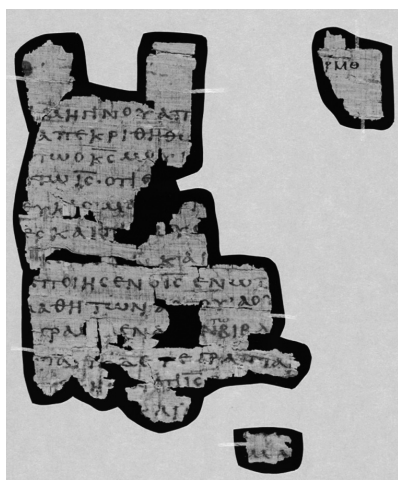
¹⁴ At the time of the publication of *Papyrus Bodmer II* (P⁶⁶), the editors included among the plates a collection of thirty-nine unidentified fragments. Among these thirty-nine fragments, K. ALAND, “Neue Neutestamentliche Papyri III”, *NTS* 22 (1976) 375-396, esp. 376-381, identified six of the fragments, P.W. COMFORT, “New Reconstructions and Identifications of New Testament Papyri”, *NovT* 41 (1999) 214-230, identified seven of the fragments, and P. HEAD, “P. Bodmer II (P⁶⁶): Three Fragments Identified”, *NovT* 47 (2005) 105-108, identified three of the fragments. Hence, there are only twenty-three unidentified fragments today. For further verification of the above-mentioned identification of fragments, see B. NONGBRI – D.B. SHARP, “The Unplaced Fragments of P.Bodmer II P⁶⁶”, *NovT* 60 (2018) 201-212.

¹⁵ See V. MARTIN, *Papyrus Bodmer II. Evangile de Jean*, Chap. 1–14 (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 5; Cologny 1956), and V. MARTIN, *Papyrus Bodmer II. Supplément: Evangile de Jean*, Chap. 14–21 (Cologny 1962).

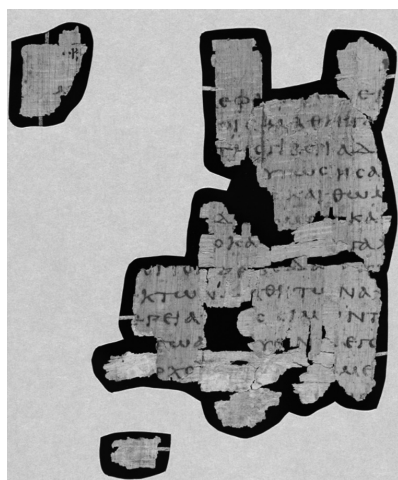
¹⁶ *Papyrus Bodmer II* contains John 1,1 – 6,11; 6,35b – 14,26.29-30; 15,2-26; 16,2-4.6-7; 16,10 – 20,20.22-23; 20,25 – 21,9.12.17.

partially lost due to the fragmentary nature of the page, the number P (100) is seen in the left top margin of the page. However, one could rightly confirm the page number on folio 75 verso as P[N] (150) because of the clear and identifiable letters PMΘ (149) in the right top margin on folio 75 recto. I provide below the images of *P.Bodmer II* folio 75 recto and verso and their transcriptions provided by Victor Martin and J.W.B. Barns for further interpretation and discussion ¹⁷.

Figure 1 – Pages 149 and 150 of *P.Bodmer II* (P⁶⁶) from the Foundation Martin Bodmer, Cologne (Geneva) website ¹⁸



John 20,27-31 in folio 75 recto (149)



John 21,1-3 in folio 75 verso (150)

27 [κα]ι μη γινου απ[ισ]τος αλλα π[ισ] 01/24
 28 τος.] απεκριθη θω[μα]ς και ειπεν 02/24
 29 α]ντω ο κ[ς] μου κ[α]ι ο θ[ς] μου λεγει 03/24
 α]ντω ις· οτι ε[ω]ρακας με πεπισ 04/23
 τ]ευκας μα[κα]ριοι οι μη ιδον 05/22
 30 τ]ες και πι[στ]ευσ[αν]τες πολ 06/21
 λα] μεν ουν και [α]λλα σημει 07/20
 α] εποιησεν ο ις ενωπ[ι]ον των 08/22
 μαθητων αυτου α ου[κ] εστιν 09/21
 γε]γραμμενα [ε]ν τ[ρι]βλ[ω] του 10/21
 31 τ]ω ταυτα δε γεγραπται [ι]να 11/21
 Π[ισ]τ]ε[υ]ηται οτι ις ε[στι]ν ο χ[ς] 12/23
 ο υς του θ[υ] και ινα π[ισ]τευον 13/22
 τε[ς] ζωνν εχητε εν τω ονο[μα]τι αυτου 14/28

1 μ[ε]τα ταυτ]α εφαγ[ε]ρω[σ]εν [ε]αυ 01/24
 τον παλιν ο ις τ[ο]ις μαθητα[ι]ς επι. 02/24
 της θαλασσης] της τιβεριαδ[ος] ε 03/24
 2 φανερωσεν δε ο]ντως· ησα[ν] ο 04/23
 μου σιμων πετρο[ς] και θωμ[α]ς 05/22
 ο λεγομενος] διδ[υ]μος και [ν]α 06/21
 θαναηλ ο απ[ο] κα[να] της] γαλ[ι]λαι 07/20
 ας και] οι του ζεβεδα[ι]ου κ[α]ι 08/22
 αλλοι] εκ των μαθητων αυτου 09/21
 3 δυο λ]γει αυτοις σιμων π[ε] 10/21
 τρος υπα]γω α[λι]ευε[ι]ν λεγο[υ]σιν 11/21
 αυτω ε]ρχομεθα και η]με[ι]ς συν 12/23
 σοι εξηλθον και ενεβ]ησ[αν] εις 13/22

¹⁷ See MARTIN, *Papyrus Bodmer II* (Chapter 14–21), 48–49.

¹⁸ <https://bodmerlab.unige.ch/fr/constellations/papyri/mirador/1072205287>

As seen in the image, the first verse of John 21 begins with the first word in the first line of folio 75 verso because the first letter μ of the starting phrase $\mu[\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha]$ is identifiable on the left top fragment of the leaf and a few letters $\epsilon\phi\ \dots\ \epsilon$ of $\epsilon\phi\alpha\gamma[\epsilon]\rho\phi[\sigma]\epsilon\gamma$ on another corresponding fragment of the same page. Seeing the beginning phrase $\mu[\epsilon\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha]$ of John 21 on the new page, Brent Nongbri doubts the textual relationship of John 21 to the rest of the chapters. First, he observes that there is no other chapter except John 21 that begins at the top of a new page in \mathfrak{P}^{66} . Second, comparing the text of John 20,27-31 in folio 75 recto (page 149) with the text of John 15,13-19 in folio 57 recto (page 113), he assumes that folio 75 recto (page 149) has “an unusually small amount of text and an unusually large lower margin”¹⁹. Based on his assessment, Nongbri argues that the copyist of *P.Bodmer* II initially copied the text from a first exemplar that lacked John 21 and later corrected the copied text against a second exemplar that contained John 21 and added John 21 at the top of a new page (page 150), leaving a larger than usual lower margin on page 149²⁰. For him, *P.Bodmer* II “could be seen as evidence for a copy of John’s Gospel that circulated without chapter 21”²¹.

In order to argue that page 149 had a wide lower marginal space, Nongbri compares page 149 with page 113. By examining these two pages, one can see that the copyist has not copied these two pages in the same fashion with the same letter size, the same length of lines, the same space between the letters (intralinear spacing), or the same space between the lines (interlinear spacing). However, as the copyist continues to write the codex, the size of letters becomes larger, the length of the lines is shortened, and spaces between letters and lines become wider²². Since pages 113 and 149 are fragmentary in nature, I provide below pages 1 and 86 of *P.Bodmer* II to show how the copyist is inconsistent in copying the text (see figure 2).

From a comparison of the above two pages of *P.Bodmer* II, it is clear that the copyist has not copied the text on the two pages in the same manner. Numerically speaking, page 1 has twenty-six lines and page 86 has fifteen lines. Similarly, the number of letters per line on page 1 ranges from twenty-five to thirty-five except the seventh line (twenty-one letters) because the seventh line has a line break after a high point. However, on page 86 the number of letters per line ranges from twenty to twenty-four.

¹⁹ See B. NONGBRI, “*P.Bodmer* 2 as Possible Evidence for the Circulation of the Gospel according to John without Chapter 21”, *EC* 9 (2018) 345-360, here 345.

²⁰ See NONGBRI, “*P.Bodmer* 2 as Possible Evidence”, 353.

²¹ NONGBRI, “*P.Bodmer* 2 as Possible Evidence”, 353.

²² See E.G. TURNER, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, PA 1977) 74, who observes the decreasing density of the text throughout *P.Bodmer* II.

Figure 2 – Pages 1 (John 1,1-14) and 86 (John 12,7-12) of *P.Bodmer II* from the Foundation Martin Bodmer, Cologny (Geneva) website ²³



Such a big difference between the number of lines and letters in the above-mentioned pages suggests that the copyist does not leave equal margins at all sides, does not copy the letters consistently in size, and varies in spacing between the letters and lines. On page 1, the copyist has written the text in small letters with smaller margins on all four sides and with less spacing between letters and lines. On page 86, letters are written comparatively larger with more space in the margins, at least on the top and the bottom, and with much wider spacing between letters and lines. Since the layout varies from page to page, it is logically inappropriate to expect page 149 to correspond to the layout of page 113.

Anyone who examines the number of lines per page throughout the codex will confirm the fact that the number of lines per page shrinks as the codex progresses, which Ryan A. Kaufman graphically demonstrates with a trendline displaying the number of lines per page (see figure 3) ²⁴.

As the graph shows, only the first page consists of twenty-six lines, and later only twenty-three, twenty-two, twenty-one and twenty lines as the copyist continues to write the text. After page 61, the number of lines does not increase above twenty lines but gradually decreases down to fourteen lines. This shows that the copyist is not at all consistent in

²³ <https://bodmerlab.unige.ch/fr/constellations/papyri/mirador/1072205287>

²⁴ See R.A. KAUFMAN, "Does P⁶⁶ suggest a *Vorlage* Lacking John 21?", 1-10, here 3 (published in academia.edu).

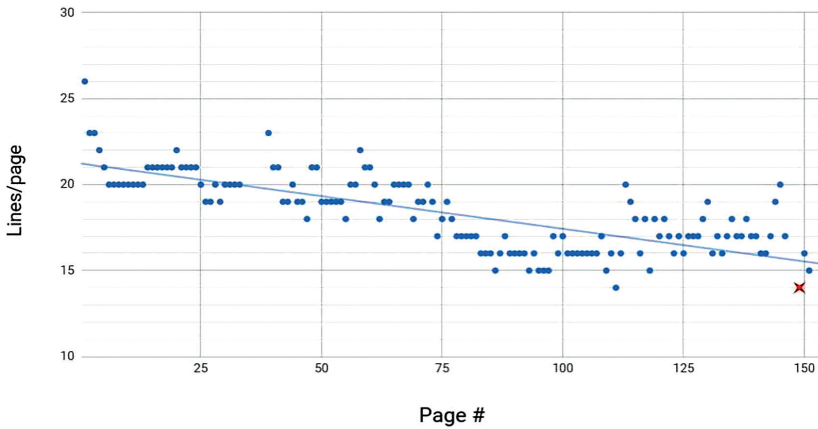


Figure 3 – Graph with trendline displaying number of lines/pages.

Page 149 is represented with an 'X'.

Image from Ryan A. Kaufman, "Does \mathfrak{P}^{66} suggest a *Vorlage* Lacking John 21", 3.

copying the text with regard to the number of lines per page, the number of letters per line, the size of the characters and the space between the characters and lines. Here one could ask why Nongbri compares page 149, which has fourteen lines, with page 113, which has twenty lines; there are other pages with fifteen lines (pages 86, 93, 95, 96, 97) and sixteen lines (pages 83, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 92, 94, 98-107) which are not fragmentary in nature but are complete pages. Since the number of lines decreases toward the end of the \mathfrak{P}^{66} version of the Gospel, it would be more appropriate to compare page 149 with other pages that have a smaller number of lines.

Another argument of Nongbri is that page 149 has an unusually small amount of text compared to page 113. Based on the reconstructive transcription of Victor Martin and J.W.B. Barns, Nongbri states that pages in quires seven and eight (129-158) have an average of 400 letters but page 149 has only 317 letters²⁵. In response to Nongbri, Kaufman argues that there would have been fifteen lines on page 149, inserting the textual variant $\alpha\omega\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ after $\zeta\omega\eta\nu$ on the basis of the bottom image of the letters at the top of the $[\omicron\nu]\mu\alpha[\tau\iota]$ fragment (see the image below at the left side). According to the transcription of Martin and Barns, the bottom letters at the top of the $[\omicron\nu]\mu\alpha[\tau\iota]$ fragment correspond to the 'nu', 'alpha' and 'pi' in $\iota\nu\alpha\ \pi[\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma]$. However, Kaufman doubts the reconstruction of the bottom letters at the top of the $[\omicron\nu]\mu\alpha[\tau\iota]$ fragment by Martin and Barns

²⁵ See NONGBRI, "P.Bodmer 2 as Possible Evidence", 349.

and proposes that the middle letter at the top of the [ονο]μα[τι] fragment is either ‘mu’ or ‘omega.’ He says that “[m]u’ can immediately be ruled out, as there are none in the vicinity”²⁶. However, ‘omega’ occurs twice before ονοματι in the fourteenth line (τεξ ζωνν εχητε εν τω ονο]μα[τι αυτου) according to Martin and Barns. Since it is not possible to place the [ονο]μα[τι] fragment below ζωνν or τω in the fourteenth line, Kaufman proposes the textual variant αιωνιον for John 20,31 following ζωνν which is indeed attested by \aleph , C*, D, vg^{mss}, Irenaeus. I provide below the images of the [ονο]μα[τι] fragment compared to proposed letters and a proposed reconstruction of page 149 with fifteen lines by incorporating the textual variant αιωνιον after ζωνν by Kaufman²⁷.

Figure 4 –
[ονο]μα[τι] fragment compared
to proposed letters

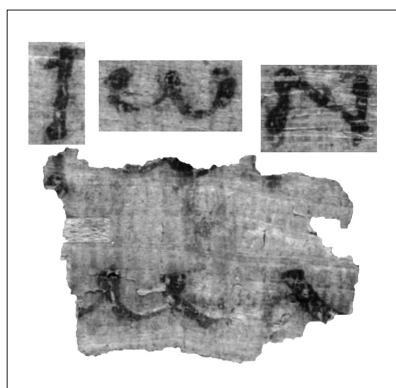
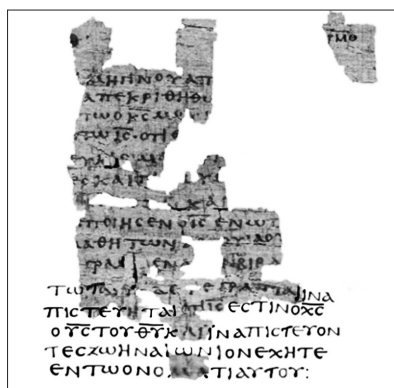


Figure 5 –
A proposed reconstruction of page 149
incorporating the textual variant



Images from Ryan A. Kaufman, “Does P⁶⁶ suggest a Vorlage Lacking John 21”, 8 and 9.

For Kaufman, the middle letter, the ‘omega’ at the top of the [ονο]μα[τι] fragment, “must be from αιωνιον, with an ‘iota’ and a ‘nu’ to the left and right of it, a set of letters most fitting to what we see at the top of the fragment”²⁸. If this reasoning is correct, page 149 of *P. Bodmer II* had fifteen lines, which would reduce the bottom margin as well as increase the total number of letters from 317 to 324.

²⁶ KAUFMAN, “Does P⁶⁶ suggest a *Vorlage* Lacking John 21?”, 8.

²⁷ See KAUFMAN, “Does P⁶⁶ suggest a *Vorlage* Lacking John 21?”, 8-9. See also C. KEITH, *The Gospel as Manuscript. An Early History of the Jesus Tradition as Material Artifact* (Oxford 2020) 133, n. 7.

²⁸ KAUFMAN, “Does P⁶⁶ suggest a *Vorlage* Lacking John 21?”, 8.

Whether one accepts or denies the proposed textual variant in John 20,31, one cannot easily dismiss the possibility of having fifteen lines on page 149. According to the reconstructive transcription of Martin and Barns, the first to the thirteenth line of page 149 has a number of letters within the range of twenty-one to twenty-four letters (24 + 24 + 24 + 23 + 22 + 21 + 20 + 22 + 21 + 21 + 21 + 23 + 22) and only the fourteenth line has twenty-eight letters. The counting of letters per lines on page 149 shows that a line has an average of twenty-two letters and a maximum of twenty-four letters. Since the reconstructive transcription of letters for the fourteenth line is twenty-eight, it would be rather difficult to fill in within the proportionate line, even after squeezing the spaces, without making the letters protrude into the left and right margins of the page. I agree with Kaufman's suggestion that there were fifteen lines on page 149, but I differ from him about the number of letters in the fourteenth line. I suggest that the fourteenth line has twenty-three letters and the fifteenth line has five (αυτου), while Kaufman thinks that there were only nineteen letters in the fourteenth line, which does correspond to the average range of letters (twenty-two to twenty-four letters) per line. My proposal that there were fourteen full lines and a last line of only five letters would explain why page 149 has a surprisingly small number of letters in comparison to other pages with fifteen complete lines. If the copyist were to completely fill the fifteenth line on page 149, then page 149 would have approximately 350 letters.

Finally, there is also one last question posed by Nongbri that needs to be addressed in order to understand the continuity of John 21 with the previous chapter: Why does the copyist start John 21 at the top of the new page? Because the division of sections into chapters is a textual delimiter that developed later, I would like to phrase the question differently: Why does the copyist begin the section that starts with the phrase *μετα ταυτα* in the next line or on a new page? If one understands the division of the Gospel of John in terms of chapters, then Nongbri's question is valid. There is no evidence for any subdivision that we now call a chapter that begins at the top of the new page²⁹. However, if one asks why the copyist begins the section that starts with *μετα ταυτα* in the next line or on a new page, even though there was space to continue writing in the fifteenth line of the previous page, then one could say that the copyist of \mathfrak{P}^{66} was observing

²⁹ In *P.Bodmer* II, John 2 begins in line 15 (out of 20), John 3 in line 18 (out of 20); John 4 in line 10 (out of 21); John 5 in line 15 (out of 20); John 6 in line 9 (out of 20); John 7 in line 4 (out of 20); John 9 in line 6 (out of 21); John 10 in line 18 (out of 20); John 12 in line 8 (out of 16); John 13 in line 11 (out of 15); John 14 in line 9 (out of 16). However, John 11 begins in the first row of the column but as the fifth letter of the first row because the last word *εκει* of John 10 continues over to the new page in the first row.

the common practice of beginning a new section or paragraph on the new line after punctuation (either a double point or a high point) and leaving the portion of line blank (line break). Since the latter half of the codex is fragmentary, the markers of structural divisions are identifiable only for the first twelve chapters. There are mainly 12 textual divisional markers from the first twelve chapters, which I present below.

<i>Subdivisions</i>	<i>Structural Markers</i>			<i>Opening Words</i>
1,6	<i>ekthesis</i>	a single point	line break	[ε]γενετο ανθρωπος απεσταλμενος
1,24	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	και απεσταλμενοι ησαν
1,28	<i>ekthesis</i>	(lac)	(lac)	ταυτα εγενετο εν βηθανια περαν
2,11	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	ταυτην πρωτην αρχην εποιησεν
2,23	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	ως δε ην εν τοις ιεροσολυμοις
3,22	(lac)	a double point	line break	[με]τα ταυτα ηλθεν ις
4,1	(lac)	a double point	line break	[ως] ουν εγνω ο ις
7,1	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	μετα ταυτα περιεπατει ο ις
10,6	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	ταυτην την παρομιαν ειπεν
10,22	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	εγενετο τοτε τα ενκαινια
11,53	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	απ εκινης ουν της ημερας
12,14	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point	line break	ευρων δε ο ις

The above table suggests that the copyist of \mathfrak{P}^{66} had followed the specific practice of delimiting the section or paragraph of the text by placing the first letter of a new section or paragraph, preceded by punctuation and line break, in the left margin. Moreover, \mathfrak{P}^{66} is the earliest manuscript, and the structural markers are comparatively less frequently employed throughout the codex in comparison to later manuscripts³⁰. According to Stanley E. Porter, “[t]he markers at 1:6, 1:24, 10:6, 11:53, and 12:14 indicate a sub-unit within a larger unit [...] The marker at 1:28 indicates the beginning of a new unit, with the verse acting as the introduction to what follows rather than as the conclusion of what precedes (cf. 11:53) [...] Stronger divisions — such as chapters — are indicated at 3:22, 4:1, and 7:1”³¹. Even though there are only twelve structural markers identifiable

³⁰ See L.W. HURTADO, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*. Manuscripts and Christian Origins (Grand Rapid, MI – Cambridge 2006) 180-181.

³¹ S.E. PORTER, “Pericope Markers in Some Early Greek New Testament Manuscripts”, *Layout Markers in Biblical Manuscripts and Ugaritic Tablets* (eds. M.C.A. KORPEL – J.M. OESCH) (Pericope 5; Assen 2005) 161-176, here 167-168.

from \mathfrak{P}^{66} , one could observe that the words *εγενετο, ταυτα/ταυτην* and *μετα ταυτα* are specific words that mark the beginning of a new section or paragraph. Both in 3,22 and 7,1 the new section ekthetically begins with the phrase *μετα ταυτα* (in 3,22, the *ekthesis* is lost due to damage), preceded by a double point and line break.

With regard to the beginning of John 21, due to the damage to folio 75 it is not clear from the folio 75 verso (page 150) whether the phrase *μ[ετα ταυτα]* starts a new section with an *ekthesis* after a punctuation and a line break, which are the unit delimitation markers. However, since *μετα ταυτα*, as in 3,22 and 7,1, is the specific phrase that marks the beginning of a new section, the copyist of \mathfrak{P}^{66} would have concluded John 20,31 with punctuation and line break, and started John 21 on the next line³². In the case of \mathfrak{P}^{66} , John 20,31, the last verse before John 21, happens to be the last (fifteenth) line of page 149 (folio 75 recto), and the beginning phrase *μετα ταυτα* of John 21 happens to be the first line of page 150 (folio 75 verso). Apart from these structural markers, the other paratextual features, such as subscription and *coronis*, are not identifiable due to the damage of the last few folios.

The examination of the textual relationship of John 21 with the text that precedes has several implications. First, since the last verse of John 20 ends on folio 75 recto (page 149) and the first verse of John 21 begins on folio 75 verso (page 150), it could be said that \mathfrak{P}^{66} is the first textual evidence for the circulation of John 21 along with John 1–20, as well as for the early textual attestation. Second, the average range of letters per line in page 149 permits the possibility of having fifteen lines, which then results in a usual lower margin. Finally, the examination of structural markers such as punctuation, spacing and *ekthesis* in \mathfrak{P}^{66} suggests that the beginning phrase *μετα ταυτα* in John 21,1 marks a new section of a second order, as in 3,22 and 7,1, and is preceded by punctuation and an apparent line break in John 20,31.

III. CODEX SINAITICUS (Ⲱ)

Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲱ), dated as a fourth-century manuscript on parchment, contains approximately 730 vellum leaves arranged consistently in

³² A similar structural feature is also found in some other known manuscripts such as Codex Bezae (D) where John 21,1 begins on a new page (folio 170 verso) after concluding the previous page (folio 178 verso) with John 20,23-31, and Codex Washingtonianus (W) where John 21,1 begins on a new line ekthetically after a line break (page 1910 with John 20,27 – 21,3), which is similar to the beginning of John 21 in \mathfrak{P}^{66} .

quires of four sheets (i.e., eight leaves or sixteen pages)³³. Although many of the books that were later called the Old Testament have been lost, the remaining material, along with the whole of the New Testament, is preserved in four libraries³⁴. With regard to the scribal hands, H.J.M. Milne and T.C. Skeat argue (also confirmed by Dirk Jongkind) that there are three scribes responsible for the extant material of the codex: two scribes for the Old Testament and one scribe for the entire New Testament³⁵. The words in this codex were written in the style of “biblical uncial” without accents or breathings. Each leaf of the codex is formatted with four columns per page with a regular pattern of forty-eight lines per column. Each line contains an average of twelve to fourteen uncial letters. Similarly, although the text is written in *scriptura continua*, there are also some structural markers identifiable with the scribe of the codex such as punctuations (high and double points), *diaeresis* on initial iota and upsilon, line break and *ekthesis*.

In Codex Sinaiticus (ⲁ), the Gospel of John begins on folio 247 recto in the first line of the first column and ends on folio 260 recto in the twenty-seventh line of the fourth column. John 21 begins in the forty-fifth line of the fourth column on folio 259 (John 20,1 – 21,1) verso in *scriptura continua* after John 20,31 and continues on the next folio 260 recto (John 21,1-25). The so-called John 21 section is copied in four columns per page and with forty-eight lines per column. However, the fourth column on folio 260 recto has twenty-seven lines because the scribe does not want to continue the next book on the same page even though there is sufficient space after the conclusion of the Gospel of John with a *coronis* and the subscription *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ ἰωάννην* after 21,25. In Codex Sinaiticus, there are twelve *nomina sacra* forms found in John 1–20³⁶.

³³ See J.J. BROGAN, “Another Look at Codex Sinaiticus”, *The Bible as Book*. The Transmission of the Greek Text (eds. S. McKENDRICK – O. O’SULLIVAN) (London 2003) 17-32.

³⁴ The Codex Sinaiticus is preserved in four different libraries: forty-three leaves of the Old Testament in the University Library, Leipzig [Tisch. 1844]; fragments of three leaves (Genesis and Numbers) in the Library of the Society of Ancient Literature (National Library of Russia) in St. Petersburg [1853]; 347 leaves at the British Library, London (Add. Ms 43725); twelve leaves and fourteen fragments (Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges, *Shepherd of Hermas*) in St. Catherine’s Monastery (Sinai).

³⁵ See H.J.M. MILNE – T.C. SKEAT, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* (London 1938), and D. JONGKIND, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus* (TSCBPL 5; Piscataway, NJ 2007).

³⁶ *Nomina sacra* forms found in Codex Sinaiticus: (1) υἱος/υἱον/υἱου (ϣς, ϣν, ϣυ); (2) θεος/θεου/θεω/θειον (θς, θυ, θω, θν); (3) Χριστος/Χριστον/Χριστου (χς, χν, χυ); (4) Ἰησους (ις, ιν, ιω); (5) κυριος κυριε (κς, κε); (6) Ἰσραηλ (ιηλ); (7) πνευμα/πνευματι (πνα, πνι); (8) ανθρωπου (ανου); (9) ουρανου (ουνου); (10) σωτηρ (σωρ); (11) πατερα/πατηρ (πρα, πηρ); (12) δαυειδ (δαδ).

Three of those twelve also occur in John 21, namely $\overline{\iota\varsigma}/\overline{\iota\upsilon}$ in vv. 1, 4(bis), 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 23; $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}/\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ in vv. 7(bis), 12, 15, 16, 17, 21 and $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ in v. 19. Other words for which John 1–20 uses *nomina sacra* forms do not appear in John 21. Hence, the way John 21 is copied and formatted is not different from the preceding chapters and does not show any sign or indication of addition or separation from the rest of the Gospel.

Similarly, the marking of the beginning of the section that is later called John 21 in Codex Sinaiticus is similar to the markings of the beginning of other sections in the Gospel of John. In Codex Sinaiticus, the Gospel of John is segmented into one hundred fifty-four sections by the structural markers. As I have stated above, in Codex Sinaiticus the structural markers are indicated by punctuation, spacing and *ekthesis* (i.e., protruding of the first letter of the first word into the left margin). The instances of structural markers in John 21 with their opening words are given below.

<i>Subdivisions</i>	<i>Structural Markers</i>			<i>Opening Words</i>
21,1	<i>ekthesis</i>	a high point (·)	line end	μετα ταυτα εφανερωσεν
21,3	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point (·)	line break	λεγει αυτοις Σιμων Πετρος
21,5	<i>ekthesis</i>	a high point (·)	line break	λεγει ουν αυτοις ο
21,11	<i>ekthesis</i>	a double point (·)	line break	ενεβη ουν Σιμων Πετρος
21,18	<i>ekthesis</i>	a high point (·)	line end	αμην αμην λεγων σοι

As seen in the table above, the John 21 section has five instances of structural markers that subdivide the section. In John 21,1 and 21,18, a new subsection begins with an *ekthesis* preceded by a high/raised point and line end (the preceding verse fills the complete line). In John 21,3 and 21,11 a new subsection begins with an *ekthesis* but preceded by a double point and line break (the remainder of the line left blank), and in 21,5 a section starts with an *ekthesis* preceded by a high point and line break. These similar structural markers are used throughout John 1–20 for segmenting the text. In John 1–20, there are twenty-six instances where the scribe begins a new section/paragraph with an *ekthesis* preceded by a high point and line end (see, e.g., John 1,29; 2,24; 3,25.35; 4,1.6b.10.30.43; 6,7.29). Similarly, there are fifty-four instances where a new section begins with an *ekthesis* preceded by a double point and line break (see, e.g., 1,26.28.35.38.41; 2,13; 3,4) and thirty-six instances where a section begins with an *ekthesis* preceded by a single point and line break (see e.g., 1,6.43.49; 2,18; 3,1.14) in John 1–20. Moreover, the opening words of sense-unit divisions in John 21 suggest that the scribe has certain preferences for breaking

the text. In 21,1 the scribe delimits the text by structural markers on account of temporal change (μετα ταυτα), which one can also observe in 7,1; 19,28.38. Although the phrase μετα ταυτα/τουτο occurs twelve times in the Gospel of John, the scribe of Codex Sinaiticus breaks the text in three instances apart from 21,1 with the phrase μετα ταυτα. In John 21,3.5.11 the scribe breaks the text on the basis of the change of speakers in the story³⁷. The scribe of Codex Sinaiticus focuses on just two characters, Σιμων Πετρος and Ιησους. The clause αμην αμην λεγω σοι in 21,18 is an introductory formula for Jesus in discourses that the scribe of Codex Sinaiticus employs for textual divisions (see 5,24.25; 6,32b.47; 8,51; 10,1; 12,24; 13,16.20; 14,12; 16,23b). Hence, the examination of the structural markers in the Gospel of John shows that the way the scribe begins John 21 and breaks the text of John 21 is not different from the way the scribe starts other sections and subdivides them in the rest of the Gospel.

The analysis of the textual relationship of John 21 in Codex Sinaiticus has certain implications. First, John 21 continues after John 20 on the same page and in the same column without any blank space or larger margin. Second, the way the beginning of John 21 is structurally marked and segmented is not in any way different from the marking of other sections in the Gospel of John. Finally, like other books in Codex Sinaiticus, the Gospel of John begins with a superscription before the first chapter and ends with the *coronis* and subscription after the end of John 21.

IV. CODEX VATICANUS (B)

Codex Vaticanus (B), a fourth-century majuscule manuscript³⁸, has 759 leaves containing both the Old and New Testament with three lacunae³⁹. It is said that Codex Vaticanus is copied by three scribes (A, B, C): two (A, B) for the Old Testament and one (C) for the New Testament. In this codex, each page (27 × 27 cm.) consists of three columns with consistently forty-two lines. Among delimiters, *ekthesis* is frequently employed in the

³⁷ See ADAMS, "Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs", 66.

³⁸ See F.F. BRUCE, *The New Testament Documents. Are They Reliable?* (Grand Rapids, MI 1981) 9, 10. See also J.K. ELLIOTT, "T.C. Skeat on the Dating and Origin of Codex Vaticanus", *The Collected Biblical Writings of T.C. Skeat* (ed. J.H. ELLIOTT) (Leiden – Boston, MA 2004) 281-294.

³⁹ See K. ALAND – B. ALAND, *The Text of the New Testament. An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI 1989) 109, and B.M. METZGER – B.D. EHRMAN, *The Text of the New Testament. Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford 1992) 68.

Old Testament, but sparingly in the New Testament, to mark divisions ⁴⁰. A significant note is that *ekthesis* is completely absent in the Gospel of John. Similarly, the line break is used (and ranges from a fraction of a letter to fourteen letters) before *ekthesis* in the Old Testament and intra-linear space (ranging from less than half of a letter to three or four letters) in the New Testament ⁴¹. Apart from *ekthesis* and spacing, there are also some *paragraphos* markers that appear in between the last and first lines of two sections to indicate the end of the section. Jesse R. Grenz identifies five different types of *paragraphoi* in Codex Vaticanus (B) in which only two are frequently used: the straight *paragraphos* and forked *paragraphos* ⁴². Charles E. Hill perceives the forked *paragraphos* as simply an alternative form of the straight *paragraphos* ⁴³. In the Gospel of John, one can find “space of about one to two letters, without punctuation, at the point of division, and a *paragraphos* marker under the first letter of the line in which the division occurs and extending into the left margin” ⁴⁴. Compared to Codex Sinaiticus, one can say that while Sinaiticus employs *ekthesis* as the paragraph break, Vaticanus uses the *paragraphos* mark between lines ⁴⁵.

In Codex Vaticanus (B), the Gospel of John (pages 1349-1382) begins with the superscription *κατὰ ἰωάννην* in the first line of the third column on page 1349, and ends in the first column on page 1382. Usually, the new book begins in the new column when the previous book ends with the previous column (for example, Mark begins in the third column on page 1277) rather than on a new page. In this codex, John 21 starts on page 1380 (John 20,8-31 and 21,1-2), continues through the next page 1381 (John 21,2-25), and ends on page 1382 (John 21,25 and Acts 1,1-15). It is interesting to note that John 21 continues after John 20 on the same page and in the same column in the same way that the other chapters continue from the previous chapters. The text of John 21 is copied in three columns per

⁴⁰ In the New Testament, *ekthesis* is used fifty-six times in Matthew, seven times in Mark, fifteen times in Luke, five times in Acts, one time each in James and Romans.

⁴¹ See J.R. GRENZ, “Textual Divisions in Codex Vaticanus: A Layered Approach to the Delimiters in B (03)”, *TC* 23 (2018) 1-22.

⁴² See GRENZ, “Textual Divisions”, 11-12. Grenz speaks of five different types of *paragraphoi*: (1) the straight *paragraphos* which is very common in all the books; (2) the straight *paragraphos*, distinguished by the red ink; (3) the forked *paragraphos* which is found mainly in the poetic books, and also accompanies the *coronis* at the end of certain books; (4) a variation of the forked *paragraphos* with the end of the horizontal line hooked upwards; (5) the sloped *paragraphos*.

⁴³ See HILL, “Rightly Dividing the Word”, 222, n. 23.

⁴⁴ HILL, “Rightly Dividing the Word”, 222.

⁴⁵ See W. DE BRUIN, “Interpreting Delimiters: The Complexity of Text Delimitation in Four Major Septuagint Manuscripts”, *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division* (eds. M.C.A. Korpel – J.M. Oesch) (Pericope 3; Assen 2002) 66-89, here 74.

page and with forty-two lines per column. However, the scribe of Codex Vaticanus ends the Gospel of John after six lines in the first column of page 1382 with a tail piece *coronis* and subscription *κατα ἰωαννην*.

While Codex Sinaiticus has twelve *nomina sacra* forms in the Gospel of John, the scribe of Codex Vaticanus employs only four *nomina sacra* forms, namely θεος (Θς), ἰησοῦς (Ις), χριστος (Χς) and κυριος (Κς), throughout the Gospel of John. Among them, John 21, like Codex Sinaiticus, has only three *nomina sacra* forms (Θς, Ις, Κς) because the word χριστος (Χς) does not occur in John 21. Moreover, John 21 does not avoid any *nomina sacra* form that is employed in the rest of the Gospel. In short, John 21 is copied continuously from John 20 and formatted like other pages of the Gospel without any break or sign indicating a separation of John 21 from the rest of the Gospel of John.

In addition, the beginning of John 21 and its subsections are marked in the same way as the beginning of other sections and subsections in the rest of the Gospel of John. In Codex Vaticanus, there are 410 instances of textual segments indicated by structural markers. As I have mentioned already, in Codex Vaticanus the paragraph delimiters are spacing without punctuation and *paragraphos* markers. Adams opines that both *paragraphos* and spacing indicate a major division and a *paragraphos* alone signifies a minor division⁴⁶. The text of John 21 with its structural markers and opening words are given below:

<i>Subdivisions</i>	<i>Structural Markers</i>		<i>Opening words</i>
21,1	intralinear spacing	forked <i>paragraphos</i>	μετα ταυτα εφανερωσεν
21,3	intralinear spacing	---	λεγει αυτοις Σιμων Πετρος
21,4	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	πρωιας δε ηδη γενομενης
21,5	line end	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει ουν αυτοις ο Ις
21,6	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	ο δε ειπεν αυτοις
21,7b	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	Σιμων ουν Πετρος
21,9	line end	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	ως ουν απεβησαν
21,10	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει αυτοις ο Ις
21,12	end line spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει αυτοις ο Ις
21,13	---	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	ερχεται ουν ο Ις
21,15	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	οτε ουν ηρισθησαν λεγει
21,16	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει αυτω παλιν δευτερον

⁴⁶ See ADAMS, “Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs”, 68.

<i>Subdivisions</i>	<i>Structural Markers</i>		<i>Opening words</i>
21,17	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει αυτω το τριτον
21,17c	line end	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει αυτω ο ις βοσκει τα προβατα
21,18	intralinear spacing	---	αμην αμην λεγω σοι
21,20	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	επιστραφεις ο Πετρος
21,21	---	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	τουτον ουν ιδων ο Πετρος
21,22	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	λεγει αυτω ο ις
21,23	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	εξηλθεν ουν ουτος
21,24	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	ουτος εστιν ο μαθητης
21,25	intralinear spacing	horizontal <i>paragraphos</i>	εστιν δε και αλλα πολλα

In John 21, there are twenty-one instances of textual breaks, three times more than Codex Sinaiticus. The scribe of Codex Vaticanus employs intralinear spacing and forked *paragraphos* in 21,1, intralinear spacing and horizontal *paragraphos*, respectively, in 21,3.18 and 21,13.21, and both intralinear spacing and horizontal *paragraphos* together in 21,4.6. 7b.10.15.16.17.20.22.23.24.25. Since in 21,5.9.17c the text fills the line, the scribe employs only horizontal *paragraphos*. In 21,12 the scribe leaves the end of the line blank followed by horizontal *paragraphos*. A closer look into the structural markers in John 21 suggests that the scribe employs six different ways to indicate subdivisions: (1) intralinear spacing and forked *paragraphos*; (2) intralinear spacing and horizontal *paragraphos*; (3) intralinear spacing alone; (4) horizontal *paragraphos* alone; (5) end line spacing and horizontal *paragraphos*; and (6) line end and horizontal *paragraphos*. If one examines the pages of John 1–20, it also becomes clear that one can find only these six different ways to indicate the subdivisions. In John 1–20 there are one hundred ninety-three instances of the combination of intralinear spacing and horizontal *paragraphos* (see, e.g., 1,10.18.35.41; 2,1.5; 3,1), four instances of the combination of intralinear spacing and forked *paragraphos* (4,45; 15,17; 18,1; 20,30), fifty-one instances of intralinear spacing alone (see e.g., 4,32.48; 5,5), fifty-nine instances of horizontal *paragraphos* alone (see, e.g., 2,6.22; 3,12; 4,9), seventy instances of the combination of line end and horizontal *paragraphos*, and twelve instances of the combination of end line spacing and horizontal *paragraphos* (see, e.g., 1,15; 4,46; 5,20; 6,52; 10,14). Moreover, the opening words in each of these textual breaks suggest that the scribe segments the text when there are significant changes in time, place,

person or speech ⁴⁷. The text of John 21 in *scriptura continua* is segmented on the basis of temporal change (vv. 1, 4, 15), spatial change (v. 9), change of persons (vv. 3, 5, 6, 7b, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 17c, 20, 21, 22, 24), and change of speech (vv. 18, 23, 25).

The analysis of John 21 in Codex Vaticanus has certain textual implications. First, there is nothing strange to be found in the relationship of John 21 to John 20 in comparison to other chapters. John 21 is formatted and marked structurally in the same way as other chapters are. Second, John 21 is copied along with other chapters and never suggests any kind of separation from the previous chapters.

V. CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A)

Although Codex Alexandrinus (A) precedes Codex Vaticanus numerically, I prefer to discuss it following Codex Vaticanus because it is dated as a fifth-century majuscule manuscript. It is bound in four volumes, the first three of which contain the Old Testament while the fourth contains the New Testament and the Clementine Epistles. According to W. Andrew Smith, palaeography identifies three hands at work in copying the New Testament: (a) the first scribe copied the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, the *Kephalaia* list of the Gospel of Luke, and from 1 Corinthians 10,8 through Philemon; (b) the second scribe copied from the Gospels of Luke and John up to 1 Corinthians 10,8; and (c) the third scribe copied the book of Revelation ⁴⁸. Each page of this codex has two columns with approximately fifty lines each. The beginning lines of each book are written in red, and the beginning of new sections within the codex are marked by an enlarged capital set into the margin. There are four different ways by which a section/pericope is delimited ⁴⁹: (1) the first word of a new section starts in the left margin preceded by a space in the previous line; (2) the first word of a new section starts in the left margin but the preceding line ends with the word protruding into the right margin; (3) the enlarged letter starts at the beginning of the line preceded by a space in the previous line or a previous last word protruding into the right margin; and (4) a new section starts in the same line after a wide space (intra-linear space), and the first letter of the next line is written as a large capital. In addition, there are also *paragraphos* markers such as a 7-shaped *paragraphus*, a plus-shaped

⁴⁷ See ADAMS, "Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs", 68.

⁴⁸ See W.A. SMITH, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*. Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands (NTTSD 48; Leiden – Boston, MA 2014) 121.

⁴⁹ See BRUIN, "Interpreting Delimiters", 71-73.

cross (+), a slanted cross (†) a horizontal bar (-) and a siglum (*) employed in the different books of the codex. Similarly, there is a pattern of demarcation for the beginning and end of each book in Codex Alexandrinus (A) which includes: “1) a brief superscription with the title of the book and minimal decoration; 2) a more decorative subscription following the end of the book and set apart with a *coronis* ; and 3) on occasion, tailpiece art accompanying the subscription”⁵⁰.

In Codex Alexandrinus (A), the Gospel of John (folios 66-81) begins with the list of *kephalaia* in the first column of folio 66 recto and the first chapter in the first line of the second column without superscription. There are 18 *kephalaia* in the chapter index and only the numbers of the first five *kephalaia* are lost due to damage. Usually a new book begins in a new column (as the Gospel of John does) rather than on a new page. In this codex, John 21 begins on folio 81 recto (John 20,20 – 21,15) at the end of the first column (forty-seventh line) and ends on folio 81 verso (John 21,15-25). Like other pages of the folios, folio 81 recto has two columns with fifty lines each, and John 21 begins immediately after John 20 on the same page (folio 81 recto) in the forty-seventh line of the first column. Folio 81 verso continues John 21 in another forty-eight lines and concludes the Gospel of John with the subscription *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ ἰωάννην*. In Codex Alexandrinus, there are twelve *nomina sacra* forms found throughout the Gospel of John⁵¹. Among these, John 21 has three ($\overline{\iota\varsigma/\iota\nu}$, $\overline{\kappa\varsigma/\kappa\epsilon}$, $\overline{\theta\nu}$) because other *nomina sacra* forms do not occur in John 21. Moreover, one cannot observe any indication of textual difference between John 21 and the previous text, but rather one can confirm the fact that John 21 naturally proceeds from John 20 without any indication of a break or separation.

Furthermore, the marking of the beginning of John 21 and its subsections is similar to the marking of the beginnings of other sections and subsections in the rest of the Gospel. As one can see on folio 81 recto, the first letter of John 21 is an enlarged capital that protrudes into the left margin and is preceded by a high point without a line break or intralinear spacing because the previous verse fills up the complete line. Usually a section

⁵⁰ SMITH, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 127.

⁵¹ See L. TRAUBE, *Nomina sacra*. Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalter 2; München 1907), who proposed fifteen *nomina sacra* in Codex Alexandrinus. However, SMITH, *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus*, 224, suggests that the Gospel of John has twelve out of the fifteen *nomina sacra*. They are: (1) υἱος ($\overline{\iota\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\nu}$, $\overline{\iota\nu}$); (2) θεος ($\overline{\theta\varsigma}$, $\overline{\theta\nu}$, $\overline{\theta\omega}$); (3) χριστός ($\overline{\chi\varsigma}$); (4) Ἰησοῦς ($\overline{\iota\varsigma}$, $\overline{\iota\nu}$, $\overline{\iota\nu}$); (5) Κύριος ($\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$); (6) Ἰσραὴλ ($\overline{\iota\eta\lambda}$); (7) πνεῦμα ($\overline{\pi\nu\alpha}$, $\overline{\pi\nu\iota}$); (8) Ἄνθρωπος ($\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\varsigma}$, $\overline{\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon}$); (9) οὐρανός ($\overline{\omicron\nu\nu\omicron\upsilon}$); (10) σωτήρ ($\overline{\sigma\omega\rho}$); (11) πατήρ ($\overline{\pi\eta\rho}$, $\overline{\pi\rho\alpha}$); (12) ματὴρ ($\overline{\mu\eta\rho}$).

delimitation is marked by an enlarged capital accompanied by a space and/or a dot in the preceding line. Similarly, there are two *paragraphos* markers employed in the Gospel of John: a) a plus-shaped symbol (+), and b) a slanted cross (†). The instances of structural markers of John 21 with their opening words are given below:

<i>Subdivisions</i>	<i>Structural Markers</i>		<i>Opening Words</i>
21,1	· line end	enlarged capital	μετα ταυτα εφανερωσεν
21,3	line break	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτοις Σιμων Πετρος
21,5	line break	enlarged capital	λεγει ουν αυτοις ο ις
21,7	· line end	enlarged capital	λεγει ουν ο μαθητης εκεινος
21,9	· intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	ως ουν απεβησαν
21,11	· line break	enlarged capital	ανεβη ουν Σιμων Πετρος
21,12	· line end	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτοις ο ις
21,12b	line end	enlarged capital	ουδεις δε ετολμα
21,13	intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	ερχεται ουν ο ις
21,14	· line end	enlarged capital	τουτο ηδη τριτον
21,15	· line end	enlarged capital	οτε ουν ηριστησαν λεγει
21,15b	line break	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω, ναι κε
21,15c	· intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω βοσκει τα αρνια μου
21,16	intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω παλιν δευτερον
21,16c	intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω ποιμαινε
21,17	· line break	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω το τριτον
21,17c	intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω ο ις
21,18	· intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	αμην αμην λεγω σοι
21,20	line break	enlarged capital	επιστραφεις ο Πετρος
21,22	intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	λεγει αυτω ο ις
21,23	intralinear spacing	enlarged capital	εξηλθεν ουν ουτος
21,24	· line break	enlarged capital	ουτος εστιν ο μαθητης
21,25	line end	enlarged capital	εστιν δε και αλλα πολλα

From the table above, one can observe that the scribe breaks the text of John 21 in three different ways: (1) the first word of a new section protrudes into the left margin and is preceded by a high point and/or the text filling the complete line (21,1.7.12.12b.14.15.25); (2) the first word of a new section protrudes into the left margin and is preceded by a high point and/or a line break (21,3.5.11.15b.17.20.24); and (3) the first word

of a new section continues in the same line after an intralinear spacing and the first character of the next line is enlarged and protrudes into the left margin (21,9.13.15c.16.16c.17c.18.22.23). Indeed, these are the same methods used to segment the text in John 1–20. Codex Alexandrinus has more paragraph markers compared to Vaticanus because “[i]n addition to the spatial and temporal criteria employed by Vaticanus, Alexandrinus also appears to have used the criterion of a change in speaker favoured by Sinaiticus [... and because] the scribe of Alexandrinus was more consistent in forming a paragraph when one of his criteria was met”⁵².

The above study shows that there is nothing unusual in the textual relationship of John 21 in relation to John 1–20 because John 21 continues from the previous section just as other sections begin from the preceding sections in John 1–20. The formatting features such as the dimension of the columns and the number of rows in each column, as well as the structural markers in John 21, do not differ from the rest of the Gospel of John. The Gospel of John begins on folio 66 recto after the chapter index and ends on folio 81 verso with a decorative superscription after John 21,25.

VI. CONCLUSION

As I stated at the start, it was the lack of scholarly discussion of the textual relationship of John 21 to the rest of the Gospel that prompted me to pursue this topic. In this paper, I have analysed \mathfrak{P}^{66} , Sinaiticus (\aleph), Alexandrinus (A) and Vaticanus (B) in order to understand how John 21 is formatted and structurally marked in relation to the rest of the Gospel, as well as where and how the Greek New Testament manuscripts conclude the Gospel of John. In \mathfrak{P}^{66} , the folio 75 that contains John 20,27–31 and 21,1–3 consists of three fragments that do not show how John 20,31 ends on folio 75 recto. Comparing the number of lines of folio 75 recto (page 149) with folio 57 recto (page 113), some have argued that folio 75 recto has an unusually small amount of text and a smaller number of lines. Based on \mathfrak{P}^{66} , it has been suggested that the scribe first copied John 1–20 from one exemplar that lacked John 21, and then later copied John 21 from another exemplar that contained John 21. However, here one needs to ask why the scribe copied John 21 on the fresh page when there was a space at the bottom of the previous page. Our suggested number of lines (fifteen) and the amount of text (350 letters) in folio 75 recto will not be much different if we compare it with the other complete pages of the

⁵² ADAMS, “Mark, Manuscripts, and Paragraphs”, 70.

codex that have fifteen or sixteen lines. In Codex Sinaiticus (Ⲱ), John 21 continues after John 20 on the same folio (259 verso) and in the same column, structurally marked with a *ekthesis* that is preceded by a high point, which is the same as the beginning of some of the major subsections of the Gospel. In Codex Vaticanus (B), John 21 follows John 20 after an intralinear space on the same page (1380) and in the same column and concludes the Gospel after John 21,25 with a box-shaped *coronis* and subscription. Similarly, in Codex Alexandrinus (A), John 21 continues after John 20 after a high point on the same folio (81 recto) and column, and the Gospel ends with a subscription after John 21,25. These facts suggest that John 21 was copied and circulated along with the rest of the Gospel of John from the third century onwards. This examination of early Greek New Testament manuscripts did not reveal anything unusual about the textual relationship of John 21 to John 1–20 but rather confirms that those scribes of early manuscripts saw no reason to present John 21 differently from the rest of the Gospel.

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SUMMARY

The linguistic, narrative and thematic relationships of John 21 to John 1–20 are widely discussed. The textual relationship between the two is given scant attention by scholars. In this study, I undertake a study of the textual relationship between John 1–20 and John 21 in \mathfrak{P}^{66} , Sinaiticus (Ⲱ), Alexandrinus (A) and Vaticanus (B) in order to see how the transition between what we now call chapters 20 and 21 compares to other transitions in the Gospel text. In \mathfrak{P}^{66} , the beginning of John 21 on a new page (folio 75 verso) has been treated as evidence that a copy of the Gospel of John circulated without John 21. However, I argue that John 20,31 and John 21,1 just happen to be the last line of page 149 (folio 75 recto) and the first line of page 150 (folio 75 verso), which is fully consistent with the scribal methods of copying and demarking the text in the codex. Moreover, in Sinaiticus (Ⲱ), Alexandrinus (A) and Vaticanus (B), John 21 continues after John 20 on the same folio/page after certain structural markers which are the same as those used to demark other sections in John 1–20. This confirms that there is no textual evidence to support the thesis that the groups responsible for producing these witnesses thought that chapter 21 had a different status from John 1–20.

QUAND FÉLIX A-T-IL ÉTÉ NOMMÉ GOUVERNEUR DE JUDÉE?

À propos d'Ac 24,27

Le titre de cet article paraîtra sans doute étrange à beaucoup. Dans la *Guerre des Juifs*, comme dans ses *Antiquités judaïques*, Flavius Josèphe nous apprend en effet que l'empereur Claude (41-54) envoya Félix «comme procurateur de Judée» (*BJ* 2.247) — ou «pour s'occuper des affaires de Judée» (*AJ* 20.137) — après avoir condamné à l'exil son prédécesseur, Ventidius Cumanus. Et comme, dans les *Antiquités*, Josèphe précise aussitôt après qu'«à l'issue de sa douzième année de principat» Claude donna la tétrarchie de Philippe au roi Agrippa II (*AJ* 20.138), on en a naturellement déduit que cette nomination avait eu lieu en 52. Inférence qui semble d'ailleurs confirmée par Tacite, qui parle de Félix et de Cumanus dans ses *Annales* relatives à la même année (12.54) ¹.

En fait, cette date presque universellement admise a été mise en cause, voici plus de trente-cinq ans, par Daniel R. Schwartz ², suivi quelques années après par Rainer Riesner ³. Dans un article plus récent consacré à la chronologie des derniers procurateurs de Palestine, je leur ai emboîté le pas à mon tour, tout en les corrigeant sur un point important: ce n'est pas en 49 que Félix a été envoyé en Judée, comme le soutenait Schwartz

¹ Ainsi E. SCHÜRER, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC – AD 135)*. A New English Version Revised and Edited by G. VERMES and F. MILLAR, vol. 1 (Edinburgh 1973) 460, n. 17. Notons toutefois que, si Tacite évoque incidemment Félix dans ses *Annales* relatives à l'année 52, ce n'est pas parce que les événements qu'il rapporte à son sujet eurent lieu à cette date, mais bien afin de noircir un peu plus le portrait de son frère, M. Antonius Pallas, un affranchi de la mère de Claude, dont ce dernier avait fait son ministre des finances; proche d'Agrippine, la mère de Néron, il avait arrangé son mariage avec Claude en 49, ce qui ne pouvait bien entendu qu'exciter la colère de Tacite. C'est pourquoi, après avoir rapporté que Pallas avait, en 52, renoncé à une grosse somme dont, par flatterie, voulait le gratifier le Sénat, il tempère aussitôt l'impression favorable que cet épisode pourrait avoir fait sur son lecteur, d'abord en ironisant sur le prétendu désintéressement d'un affranchi qui possédait déjà 300 millions de sesterces (*Ann.* 12.53.3), puis en ajoutant que «son frère, surnommé Félix, ne montrait cependant pas la même modération. Placé depuis quelque temps déjà à la tête de la Judée (*iam pridem Iudaeae impositus*), il pensait que tous ses crimes resteraient impunis, tant était grand le pouvoir qui le soutenait [...]» (*Ann.* 12.54.1).

² D.R. SCHWARTZ, "Ishmael ben Phiabi and the Chronology of Provincia Judaea", paru d'abord en hébreu dans *Tarbiz* 52 (1982/83) 177-200, puis en anglais in Id., *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen 1992) 218-242.

³ R. RIESNER, *Paul's Early Period. Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI 1998) 133-134.

(cette année étant manifestement impossible), mais bien en 50/51 ⁴. Date qui correspond du reste exactement à celle fournie par la version latine de la *Chronique* d'Eusèbe, qui place l'envoi de Félix à cheval sur les 10^e et 11^e années du règne de Claude ⁵ (cette présentation curieuse pouvant se justifier si l'on admet que Félix a été nommé au cours de l'automne 50 et n'a pu dès lors entrer effectivement en fonction qu'au printemps 51).

Ce n'est pourtant pas sur cette question que je compte revenir ici, mais plutôt sur le caractère étrange de certaines expressions de Josèphe, qui pourraient avoir un impact sur l'interprétation d'un passage discuté des Actes des Apôtres (Ac 24,27) et, par voie de conséquence, sur la chronologie paulinienne.

I. LES DEUX LECTURES POSSIBLES D'AC 24,27

Le contexte de ce fameux verset est bien connu: arrêté à Jérusalem par la garnison romaine commandée par le tribun Lysias, et accusé par les autorités juives d'avoir tenté de profaner le Temple, Paul fut amené à Césarée pour comparaître devant le gouverneur Félix. Après avoir entendu les deux parties, celui-ci déclara: «Lorsque le tribun Lysias sera descendu [de Jérusalem], j'examinerai votre affaire» (Ac 24,22). Il garda donc Paul prisonnier, tout en le faisant venir à plusieurs reprises pour converser avec lui, dans l'espoir d'en recevoir de l'argent (24,26). Puis, «une double année ayant été remplie (διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης), Félix reçut comme successeur Porcius Festus» (24,27).

Cette expression est susceptible de deux interprétations différentes: Félix étant le seul sujet de la phrase, on pourrait penser que la précision chronologique qu'elle contient se rapporte à la durée de son mandat de procureur, qui serait arrivé à échéance. Cette lecture est parfaitement possible du point de vue grammatical, et c'est du reste celle qu'a adoptée la *Peshitta* ⁶. Mais l'on répond généralement que, Paul étant l'acteur principal de l'ensemble du récit, la logique globale de la narration impose de voir en ces deux années le temps qu'il passa en captivité: en effet, le

⁴ A. BUNINE, «Paul, Jacques, Félix, Festus et les autres: pour une révision de la chronologie des derniers procureurs de Palestine», *RB* 111 (2004) 387-408, 531-562, ici, 405, n. 33.

⁵ R. HELM, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (GCS 47; Berlin ³1984) 181.

⁶ Cf. M. LAMBERTZ, «Porcius Festus», *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XXII/1 (1953) 220-227 (225). Voir aussi E. HAENCHEN, *The Acts of the Apostles. A Commentary* (Philadelphia, PA 1971) 661; S. DOCKX, *Chronologies néotestamentaires et vie de l'Église primitive* (Louvain ²1984) 70-71; P.R. FINCH, *Beyond Acts. New Perspectives in New Testament History* (Palm Bay, FL 2003) 249-258; et la *TOB*, *ad loc.*

rédacteur n'avait aucun motif d'indiquer la durée du gouvernement de Félix, alors qu'il avait quelque intérêt à mesurer celle du séjour de Paul à Césarée. Les «deux ans» dont il est question en Ac 24,27 doivent donc viser Paul et non Félix ⁷.

Cette conclusion de l'exégèse commune n'est guère contestable aussi longtemps qu'on considère Ac 24,27 dans son contexte immédiat. Mais il n'en va pas de même quand on examine d'un plus près les termes utilisés par l'auteur des Actes, et surtout lorsqu'on replace ce verset dans l'ensemble du récit:

- Pourquoi Luc a-t-il employé ici le mot διετία au lieu de l'expression plus courante μετὰ ἑτὴ δύο, alors qu'en 19,10 il avait simplement écrit ἐπὶ ἑτὴ δύο pour indiquer la durée de l'enseignement de Paul à Éphèse? Et surtout pourquoi a-t-il employé le verbe πληρόω pour indiquer que ce terme de deux ans avait été achevé ou complété ⁸?
- En 24,22, Félix avait déclaré: «Lorsque le tribun Lysias sera descendu, j'examinerai votre affaire». Or, par la suite, il n'est plus jamais question de Lysias. Pourquoi Félix ne s'en est-il pas tenu à ce qu'il avait annoncé? Et pour quelles raisons aurait-il attendu si longtemps avant de se prononcer alors qu'il disposait de tous les éléments nécessaires pour conclure? Lui a-t-il vraiment fallu deux ans pour se rendre compte que Paul ne pouvait pas ou ne voulait pas «lui donner de l'argent»?
- Au cœur d'une narration continue, particulièrement prolixe et détaillée, l'auteur nous place soudain devant un blanc de deux ans, émaillé seulement de quelques prédications improbables adressées par Paul à Félix et à son épouse Drusilla (24,24-26), ce qui constitue une véritable anomalie dans sa manière de décrire l'histoire de Paul depuis le début du chapitre 20. On répondra sans doute que si Luc n'a pas dit grand-chose de ces deux ans, c'est tout simplement parce qu'il n'avait rien de particulier à en dire. Peut-être, mais voici qui est plus troublant.
- Le journal de voyage rédigé en style «nous», qui s'interrompait avec l'arrivée de Paul à Jérusalem (21,18), reprend comme si de rien n'était aussitôt que l'apôtre reprend la mer pour être conduit à Rome (27,1). Doit-on en conclure que son auteur, leur compagnon Aristarque, et peut-être d'autres encore (27,2-3), ont attendu pendant deux ans à Césarée pour savoir ce qu'il adviendrait de Paul? Ce n'est pas impossible sans doute, mais tout de même un peu curieux.

⁷ Ainsi, entre beaucoup d'autres, A. LOISY, *Les Actes des Apôtres* (Paris 1920) 867-868.

⁸ Comme le note DOCKX, *Chronologies*, 70: «Si on tient compte du verbe πληρωθείσης il s'agit d'une durée de deux années qui arrivent à terme. On ne voit pas ce que peut signifier pour Paul que la double année (διετία) de sa captivité est arrivée à terme puisqu'il est tenu en captivité par Félix pour une durée tout à fait arbitraire».

- De plus, ce journal semble structuré chronologiquement par l'évocation des grandes fêtes juives — «les Azymes» (20,6), «la Pentecôte» (20,16) et «le Jeûne» (27,9) — ce qui se comprend évidemment beaucoup mieux si tous les événements qu'il rapporte se sont déroulés au cours d'une même année liturgique.
- Cette inférence se voit d'ailleurs confirmée par un incident relaté de part et d'autre des «deux ans»: en 23,12-15, nous apprenons en effet que quelques Juifs, «s'étant engagés par serment à ne rien manger ni boire avant d'avoir tué Paul», demandèrent aux grands prêtres et aux Anciens de le faire amener au Sanhédrin afin de pouvoir le supprimer en chemin; or, en 25,2-3, nous voyons se répéter le même manège lors de l'arrivée de Festus: les grands prêtres et les notables le prient de faire venir Paul à Jérusalem en espérant attirer ce dernier dans une embuscade — un témoin du texte occidental précisant même que les organisateurs de celle-ci n'étaient autres que ceux «qui avaient fait un vœu afin de l'avoir entre leurs mains» ⁹! Il est évident qu'il n'a pas pu échapper au rédacteur de cette variante que, si ces zélotes avaient dû attendre deux ans avant de trouver une occasion de réaliser leur vœu, ils seraient depuis longtemps morts de faim et de soif. Sans compter qu'au bout de tout ce temps, les passions anti-pauliniennes auraient normalement dû se calmer quelque peu, ce que notre récit ne laisse nullement entendre, bien au contraire.
- En 28,21, les Juifs de Rome déclarent à Paul qu'ils n'ont reçu aucune lettre de Judée à son sujet, et qu'aucun des frères arrivés chez eux ne leur a appris ou communiqué quoi que ce soit de fâcheux sur son compte. Comme le note Justin Taylor, «ceci serait étonnant si Paul avait été prisonnier durant deux années avant de venir à Rome, ce qui aurait laissé largement le temps aux nouvelles de son procès d'atteindre la capitale. Mais c'est très compréhensible si nous supposons que, pour Luc, les 'deux ans' de 24,27 ne concernent pas le temps qu'aurait duré la captivité de Paul et que son transfert à Rome aurait suivi de peu son arrestation» ¹⁰.

Certes, aucun de ces nombreux indices ne suffit à lui seul à établir que Paul n'est pas resté deux ans à Césarée avant d'être envoyé à Rome. Cependant leur conjonction suffit pour nous amener à nourrir de sérieux doutes sur les intentions exactes du rédacteur de ce passage et, par voie de conséquence, sur la durée de la captivité de l'apôtre.

⁹ SyrH^{mg}; cf. M.-É. BOISMARD, *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres*. Édition nouvelle entièrement refondue (Études Bibliques NS 40; Paris 2000) 390.

¹⁰ J. TAYLOR, *Les Actes des deux Apôtres*, VI. *Commentaire historique (Actes 18,23 – 28,31)* (Études Bibliques NS 30; Paris 1996) 270.

Mais, objectera-t-on, l'auteur de notre texte n'a certainement pas voulu attribuer les deux ans d'Ac 24,27 à la magistrature de Félix puisque, en 24,10, il fait dire à Paul: «Je sais que tu assures la justice dans cette nation depuis de nombreuses années»! En outre, quelle que soit la date que l'on retienne pour l'arrivée de Félix (50 ou 52), il est clair que, même s'il a été remplacé bien avant 59 ou 60 — dates généralement reçues pour fixer son départ ¹¹ — il est resté en fonction plus de deux ans. Dès lors, comment faudrait-il comprendre l'expression διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης d'Ac 24,27 si on ne veut pas l'attribuer à la captivité de Paul à Césarée?

À cette objection, certains auteurs ont cru pouvoir répondre qu'en fait, Félix n'avait exercé la fonction de procurateur de Judée que pendant deux ans: à savoir, entre 52 et 54 (selon J. Taylor) ¹², ou entre 53 et 55 (selon Haenchen, suivi par Dockx) ¹³; quant à l'affirmation de Paul en Ac 24,10, elle devrait être comprise comme une simple *captatio benevolentiae*. Mais cette réponse ingénieuse ne peut être retenue. Tout d'abord, même en admettant que Félix n'ait été envoyé en Palestine qu'en 52/53 — *quod non* — la date de 54 avancée pour son remplacement doit être écartée pour les raisons suivantes: (1) Eusèbe lui-même, dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* (2.22.1), situe le rappel de Félix sous le successeur de Claude; (2) Josèphe, non seulement place pratiquement tous les événements de la magistrature de Félix sous le règne de Néron (ce qui pourrait encore, partiellement du moins, être discuté), mais précise formellement que ce dernier, à son avènement, reconduisit Félix dans sa charge (*BJ* 2.252). Quant à la date de 55, elle n'est guère mieux lotie — bien qu'elle puisse apparemment se réclamer du témoignage de Jérôme, notamment dans sa traduction latine de la *Chronique* d'Eusèbe ¹⁴. En effet, si l'on tient compte

¹¹ SCHÜRER, *History*, 465-466, n. 42; R. JEWETT, *Dating Paul's Life* (London 1979) 40-44.

¹² TAYLOR, *Les Actes*, 177: «En fait, Josèphe est inexact en disant que Festus fut envoyé par Néron; nous pensons que le changement de gouverneur en Judée fut ordonné par Claude, comme le suppose la version arménienne du *Chronicon* d'Eusèbe [...] Il s'ensuit que, en Act 24,27, la 'période de deux ans' se rapporte au temps où Félix exerça la charge de procurateur de Judée, de 52 à 54». De même, pour un plaidoyer (discutable) en faveur de l'arrivée de Paul à Jérusalem en 54, B. MAHIEU, *Between Rome and Jerusalem. Herod the Great and His Sons in Their Struggle for Recognition* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 208; Leuven 2012) 501-507.

¹³ HAENCHEN, *Acts*, 70-71; DOCKX, *Chronologies*, 71-72: «Même si [sa] nomination avait eu lieu avant la fin de 52 (ce qui n'est pas certain) l'année aurait été trop avancée pour que Félix se rende encore à Césarée par mer [...] Mais comme la 'secura navigatio' va du 27 mai au 14 septembre, on peut estimer que Félix n'est parti de Rome que vers la mi-mai pour arriver fin juin à Césarée et entrer en fonction le 1^{er} juillet [53], c'est-à-dire à l'échéance normale du mandat des procurateurs de Judée».

¹⁴ Celle-ci situe le remplacement de Félix par Festus et l'envoi de Paul à Rome pendant la deuxième année de Néron (oct. 55 — oct. 56). Mais la phrase placée en regard de cette année est ambiguë: «Festus succedit Felici, aput quem praesente Agrippa rege Paulus

des données contenues dans ses deux épîtres aux Corinthiens, on peut établir sans peine qu'il est matériellement impossible que Paul soit arrivé à Jérusalem avant la Pentecôte 56 — et cela, même s'il a bien quitté Corinthe pour Éphèse peu après sa comparution devant Gallion (Ac 18,12-17), au cours de l'été 51¹⁵.

Il semble donc que nous soyons au rouet: d'une part, nous ne manquons pas d'indices paraissant indiquer que les «deux ans» d'Ac 24,27 concernent Félix plutôt que la captivité de Paul à Césarée; d'autre part, il est manifestement impossible d'attribuer ces deux ans à la durée totale de la magistrature de Félix (à moins de supposer gratuitement une erreur dans le chef de l'auteur des Actes). Le texte de Josèphe est-il de nature à nous permettre de résoudre cette difficulté?

II. LES EXPRESSIONS DE JOSÈPHE

En *BJ* 2.247, Josèphe nous dit qu'après avoir exilé Cumanus, Claude «envoya Félix, le frère de Pallas, comme procurateur (ἐπίτροπος) de Judée, de la Samarie, de Galilée et de Pérée». Énumération détaillée tout à fait inhabituelle chez lui, qui se contente généralement de parler de «la province» ou de «la Judée» (au sens large)¹⁶. Ce fait a été remarqué par certains historiens, lesquels en ont inféré qu'avant d'être nommé gouverneur de la totalité de la province, Félix avait sans doute exercé une autorité subalterne sur l'une ou l'autre de ses régions; ce qui permettrait d'ailleurs de rendre compte de la curieuse présentation de Tacite, qui affirme que Cumanus et Félix exerçaient simultanément la fonction de procurateur, l'un sur la Galilée, et l'autre sur la (Judée-)Samarie (*Ann.* 12.54.2)¹⁷. Mais on peut se demander si cette énumération n'avait pas (aussi?) une autre fonction: à savoir celle de restreindre la portée du titre de «procurateur» qui est ici donné à Félix.

apostolus religionis suae rationem exponens uinctus Romam mittitur» (HELM, *Chronik*, 182). On doit en effet se demander quel événement au juste est situé dans cette année 55-56: l'arrivée de Festus à Césarée (au cours de l'été) ou celle de Paul à Rome (au printemps suivant)? Comme je l'ai montré ailleurs (BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 533-534), l'examen d'autres textes de Jérôme plaide clairement en faveur du second terme de l'alternative — ce qui n'exclut pas, du reste, une certaine confusion dans l'esprit de Jérôme lui-même, comme l'avait déjà noté A. HARNACK (*Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, Bd I [Leipzig 1897] 234, n. 2: cf. *infra*, n. 37).

¹⁵ On trouvera le détail de cette démonstration dans BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 546-552. Voir aussi, dans le même sens, J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, *Corinthe au temps de Saint Paul* (Paris 2004) 212-217.

¹⁶ *BJ* 2.220, 223; *AJ* 20.2, 197. Ailleurs, il se borne à indiquer que X eut comme successeur Y: *BJ* 2.271, 272, 277; *AJ* 20.100, 104, 182, 215, 252.

¹⁷ Ainsi M. STERN, *The Jewish People in the First Century*, vol. 1 (Assen 1974) 375; SCHWARTZ, *Studies*, 233.

Pour comprendre la signification de cette dernière remarque, il est nécessaire de rappeler brièvement le sens de la titulature en usage sous les premiers empereurs ainsi que la modification que lui a apportée Claude ¹⁸. Sous Auguste et Tibère, les titres de *praefectus* (*eparchos*) et de *procurator* (*epitropos*) recouvrent deux réalités bien différentes: seul le *praefectus*, généralement de rang équestre, exerce un pouvoir proprement administratif, qui lui permet notamment de diriger une province où il exerce une juridiction civile et criminelle. Il est donc normal que l'inscription officielle découverte à Césarée en 1961 désigne Pilate sous le titre de *praefectus Iudaeae*. Le statut de *procurator* quant à lui ne relève pas du domaine public: les procureurs sont des agents privés dépendant directement de l'empereur, préposés à la gestion de ses biens ou de ses domaines, et chargés de lever les tributs qui alimentaient les caisses impériales. Toutefois, comme le note Lémonon,

Dans les provinces impériales, en général de petites provinces, la même personne exerce deux charges distinctes; le gouverneur agit alors à deux niveaux différents: celui de gouverneur de province, il se comporte alors en préfet; celui de défenseur des intérêts de l'empereur: il assure alors les fonctions de procureur et entre autres s'occupe de la levée des impôts. La situation en Judée est caractéristique à cet égard: Pilate accomplit deux tâches distinctes. Ce cumul amène le gouverneur de Judée à exercer des fonctions militaire, judiciaire et financière ¹⁹.

Cela pourrait expliquer le fait que Philon donne le titre d'*epitropos* aussi bien aux gouverneurs de Judée et d'Asie qu'au légat de Syrie et même au préfet d'Égypte; et que Josèphe emploie indifféremment les termes *eparchos* et *epitropos* pour désigner les dirigeants romains de Judée. Tacite lui-même désigne Ponce Pilate sous le titre de *procurator* (*Ann.* 15.44.3); mais comme il écrivait au début du deuxième siècle, il est fort possible qu'il ait préféré parler d'un gouverneur antérieur en utilisant un terme devenu courant à son époque.

À partir de Claude en effet, «le titre de *procurator* apparaît comme le titre normal pour les gouverneurs de provinces impériales du type de la Judée. La charge exercée recouvre alors un domaine plus vaste que celui des questions financières. Cette situation se rencontre dans les provinces, entre autres, de Cappadoce, de Thrace ou de Mauritanie Tingitane. Ces deux dernières régions qui ont été annexées par Claude semblent avoir été gouvernées dès le début par un *procurator*» ²⁰. En modifiant ainsi la

¹⁸ Je suis ici le résumé donné par J.-P. LÉMONON, *Ponce Pilate* (Paris ²2007) 45-59, qui fait lui-même référence à la littérature antérieure.

¹⁹ LÉMONON, *Ponce Pilate*, 51.

²⁰ LÉMONON, *Ponce Pilate*, 51.

titulature des gouverneurs de provinces impériales, Claude prenait sans doute acte du fait que les deux fonctions de procurateur et de préfet étaient généralement exercées par la même personne, mais il voulait aussi affirmer jusque dans leur titre principal leur lien étroit avec l'empereur. Le terme *praefectus* s'est pourtant maintenu, notamment en Égypte, et dans certaines provinces comme la Sardaigne où, même après Claude, le titre *praefectus* ou *pro legato* est ajouté à celui de *procurator* pour mettre en relief l'aspect militaire de la fonction.

Revenons maintenant à Félix. Comme l'ont signalé la plupart des commentateurs, sa nomination à la tête de la province de Judée avait quelque chose d'inouï: c'était la première fois qu'un simple affranchi était chargé d'une mission qui était normalement réservée à l'ordre équestre ²¹. On peut dès lors se poser la question: afin de ne pas bousculer trop ouvertement les traditions, Claude n'a-t-il pas envoyé Félix en Palestine comme simple chargé d'affaires (c'est le sens précis du terme «procurateur»), doté des principaux pouvoirs d'un gouverneur certes, mais sans porter officiellement le titre de préfet? C'est en tout cas ce qui semble ressortir de la formulation utilisée par Josèphe dans les *Antiquités*: «Claude envoya ensuite Félix, frère de Pallas, pour s'occuper des affaires de la Judée (τὼν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν προστησόμενον πραγμάτων)» (AJ 20.137) ²².

Une solution alternative, beaucoup plus simple, consisterait à supposer que Félix a été intégré auparavant à l'ordre équestre ²³. Hypothèse *ad hoc*, qu'aucun indice probant ne vient étayer, et qui est refusée avec raison par F. Millar ²⁴. En effet, Suétone nous dit seulement que Claude aimait

²¹ Le seul précédent qu'on aurait pu invoquer est celui d'un autre affranchi, Hibéris, qui, sous le règne de Tibère, avait rempli brièvement les fonctions de préfet d'Égypte (Philon, *In Flacc.* 2; Dion Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 58.19.6). Mais ce cas est tout à fait particulier car cet affranchi n'avait fait qu'assurer l'intérim entre deux gouverneurs dans une province qui était considérée tout entière comme le domaine privé de l'empereur.

²² Cette hypothèse pourrait être mise en rapport avec ce que nous dit Tacite en *Ann.* 12.60: selon lui, en 53, «on entendit souvent le *princeps* dire que les décisions judiciaires de ses procurateurs devaient avoir la même autorité que s'il les avait prises lui-même. Et, pour que cela ne parût pas un mot prononcé par hasard, on prit aussi un sénatus-consulte plus complet et plus explicite qu'auparavant». Puis il se lance dans une longue digression où il semble déplorer que des prérogatives judiciaires autrefois réservées au sénat et aux préteurs aient été attribuées à des membres de l'ordre équestre, d'abord en Égypte, puis dans d'autres provinces, et même à Rome ... pour conclure finalement que toutes ces considérations sur les pouvoirs acquis progressivement par les chevaliers étaient hors de saison, «puisque Claude a mis les affranchis auxquels il avait confié l'administration de ses propriétés (*rei familiari*) sur un pied d'égalité avec lui-même et les lois».

²³ Ainsi G. BOULVERT, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous le Haut-Empire romain. Rôle politique et administratif* (Naples 1970) 198, suivi par LÉMONON, *Ponce Pilate*, 53.

²⁴ F. MILLAR, "Some Evidence on the Meaning of Tacitus *Annals* XII.60", *Historia* 13 (1964) 180-187: «The view [...] that Felix had been made an *eques* (by *restitutio natalium*) has no direct support in the sources» (182, n. 13).

beaucoup Félix «à qui il confia (*praeposuit*) des cohortes et des ailes de cavalerie et la Judée» (*Claud.* 28). Cela pourrait à première vue donner à penser que Félix avait bien été élevé à l'ordre équestre, car le commandement de ces formations revenait normalement aux chevaliers (*Claud.* 25.1). Mais outre que, comme le note Millar, «*praepositus* is a word which tends to be used of an imperial *libertus* placed in an executive position», ni Tacite ni Suétone ne le disent explicitement et ils paraissent même insinuer le contraire. De fait, le premier écrit dans ses *Histoires* que «Claude réduisit la Judée en province et la confia à des chevaliers romains ou à des affranchis. L'un de ces derniers, Antonius Félix, pratiqua toutes sortes de cruautés et de luxures, exerçant le pouvoir d'un roi avec tous les instincts d'un esclave» (*Hist.* 5.9). Quant au second, outre qu'il relève que «des affranchis qui se faisaient passer pour chevaliers romains furent vendus comme esclaves au bénéfice de l'État» (25), il nous rapporte que Claude «accorda le laticlave même à des fils d'affranchis, mais à condition qu'ils eussent d'abord été adoptés par un chevalier romain; et même alors, craignant d'être blâmé, il fit savoir au sénat que le censeur Appius Claudius l'Aveugle, le fondateur de sa propre lignée, avait admis au sénat des fils d'affranchis [...]» (24). Ce qui n'a sans doute qu'un rapport indirect avec notre problème mais montre en tout cas que Claude ne pouvait abattre à son gré les cloisons séparant les classes sociales.

En ce qui concerne Josèphe, une première confirmation, purement négative, de notre hypothèse réside dans le fait qu'il ne dit nulle part que Félix a succédé à Cumanus — comme il a pourtant coutume de le faire en pareilles circonstances ²⁵. Mais un autre *confirmatur* paraît beaucoup plus décisif: en *BJ* 2.252 en effet, Josèphe nous rapporte qu'après son avènement (le 13 octobre 54), Néron «annexa au royaume d'Agrippa quatre villes avec leur toparchies: Abila, Julias en Pérée, Tarichée et Tibériade en Galilée, et il nomma Félix procurateur pour le reste de la Judée (εἰς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰουδαίαν Φήλικα κατέστησεν ἐπίτροπον)».

On rétorquera peut-être que, par cette formule, Josèphe voulait tout simplement dire que Néron confirma Félix dans sa charge ²⁶. Mais cette objection ne tient pas si l'on se réfère à une autre indication de Josèphe, dans son *Autobiographie* cette fois, où il nous rapporte incidemment que la ville de Tibériade était restée la capitale de la Galilée «jusqu'à ce que Félix soit placé à la tête de la Judée (μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας)»; ensuite elle fut donnée «en fief par Néron à Agrippa le

²⁵ Cf. *supra*, n. 16.

²⁶ Ainsi A. Pelletier, dans sa traduction des deuxième et troisième livres de la *Guerre* (Paris 1980) 53, n. 6 (p. 215), et moi-même in BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 557.

Jeune» (*Vita*, 37-38) ²⁷. Indications qui correspondent parfaitement aux renseignements fournis par Josèphe en *BJ* 2.252.

Cette curieuse présentation des choses ne pouvait qu'intriguer ses lecteurs modernes dans la mesure où, que Félix soit entré en fonction en 50 ou en 52, il était en place bien avant qu'Agrippa II ne reçoive Tibériade des mains de Néron. Schürer s'est donc demandé si l'expression μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου της Ἰουδαίας ne devait pas être comprise inclusivement, comme signifiant «jusqu'à la fin de la magistrature de Félix ('until the end of Felix's term of office')». Mais cela le plaçait devant une grave difficulté: selon sa propre chronologie (devenue depuis canonique), Festus n'aurait remplacé Félix qu'en 60 ²⁸; or, si l'on en croit *BJ* 2.252 et *AJ* 20.158-159, il semble bien que Néron ait donné Tibériade à Agrippa au cours de la première année de son règne, soit en 54-55 ²⁹. Schürer a dès lors été conduit à multiplier les conjectures:

Quand exactement fut fait le don de Néron? Cela ne peut être déterminé avec certitude. Sur les monnaies postérieures d'Agrippa, ses années de règne sont comptées suivant une ère commençant en 61. Il est possible que la base de cette ère soit l'année au cours de laquelle les territoires d'Agrippa furent agrandis par Néron. La séparation de ces régions respectives de Galilée et de Pérée aurait alors eu lieu immédiatement après le départ de Félix et l'entrée en charge de Festus: tel pourrait être le sens d'une référence incidente selon laquelle Tibériade demeura sous la juridiction de Rome μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου της Ἰουδαίας (*Vita* 9,37). Toutefois, ce μέχρι ne signifie pas de soi 'jusqu'à la fin de la magistrature de Félix'. Supposition qui est d'ailleurs d'autant plus incertaine qu'il existe également une ère d'Agrippa qui commence en 56 ³⁰, laquelle pourrait elle aussi avoir pour fondement l'accroissement des territoires effectué par Néron ³¹.

²⁷ Pelletier traduit: «jusqu'au jour où Félix devint procureur de Judée» (Flavius Josèphe, *Autobiographie*. Texte établi et traduit par A. Pelletier [Paris 1959] 7). Mais ici, aucune note explicative ne vient éclairer cette bizarrerie manifeste.

²⁸ Cf. n. 11. Pour une présentation et une discussion de ses raisons, voir BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 538-541.

²⁹ «La première année du gouvernement de Néron, Aziz, prince d'Émèse, mourut et son frère Soème lui succéda au pouvoir. Aristobule, fils d'Hérode de Chalcis, reçut le gouvernement de l'Arménie Mineure. L'empereur gratifia aussi Agrippa d'une partie de la Galilée et soumit à son autorité Tibériade et Tarichée» (*AJ* 20.158-159).

³⁰ Comme je l'ai déjà noté ailleurs, il faut se référer ici à l'original allemand (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, Bd I [Leipzig 1901] 588, n. 7), la traduction anglaise étant défectueuse à cet endroit. Telle que l'a formulée Schürer, cette phrase se lit en effet comme suit: «Und die Vermuthung wird dadurch unsicher, dass es auch eine Aera Agrippa's giebt, welche im J. 56 beginnt», phrase que le traducteur britannique a rendue par: «and this lends uncertainty to the assumption concerning an era of Agrippa beginning in A.D. 56», ce qui, vu le contexte, n'a évidemment aucun sens.

³¹ SCHÜRER, *History*, 473, n. 8 (ma traduction).

Autrement dit, si, pour rendre compte de l'étrange expression de Josèphe, Schürer a bien envisagé l'éventualité de reculer de cinq ans le don fait à Agrippa de la ville de Tibériade, il n'a pas daigné considérer un seul instant la possibilité inverse, à savoir anticiper de quatre ou cinq années le rappel de Félix, préférant plutôt ergoter sur le sens exact du mot μέχρι! Or, comme je l'ai montré dans mon article précité, rien ne nous contraint de placer l'arrivée de Festus en 60 plutôt qu'en 56³². Si l'on comprend l'expression μέχρι Φήλικος προεσταμένου τῆς Ἰουδαίας inclusivement, on pourrait donc admettre que Tibériade a été donnée à Agrippa par Néron l'année même du remplacement de Félix par Festus, soit en 55/56³³. Mais rien ne nous empêche non plus de prendre cette expression en son sens obvie, et de comprendre que, pour Josèphe, Tibériade est restée la capitale de la Galilée jusqu'à ce que Félix soit nommé officiellement procureur de Judée par Néron — ce qu'il n'était donc pas encore auparavant.

Cela pourrait d'ailleurs éclairer une autre particularité du texte de Josèphe: comme on le sait, dans la *Guerre* comme dans les *Antiquités*, il relate tous les événements survenus en Judée sous Félix après avoir fait état de la mort de Claude et de l'avènement de Néron (*BJ* 2.253-270 = *AJ* 20.160-178). Ce qui ne manque pas de poser question: en effet, quelle que soit la date que l'on retienne pour l'entrée en fonction de Félix (50/51 ou 52/53), et même si Josèphe n'en dit mot, il est difficile de croire qu'il ne s'est rien passé en Judée au cours des dernières années du règne de Claude et qu'il ait fallu attendre l'avènement de son successeur pour que, tout à coup, le pays se remplisse de bruits et de fureurs! Sans doute doit-on supposer que l'historien juif n'a pas voulu fragmenter sa matière, et qu'il a donc choisi de la présenter ici suivant un ordre thématique plutôt que rigoureusement chronologique³⁴. Mais on comprend alors d'autant

³² BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 532-542.

³³ En effet, comme le note N. KOKKINOS, *The Herodian Dynasty. Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse* (JSPSS 30; Sheffield 1998) 322: «It appears that this grant was made in the second year of Nero (despite its being conveniently placed by Josephus together with that of Aristobulus III at the end of 54), because it was in 55/56 that a new era of his commenced, which we may thus call Agrippa's Era of Tiberias». Dans le même sens, on peut noter qu'une inscription récemment découverte à Tibériade est datée de «la 43^e année du roi Agrippa», soit 97/98 suivant cette même ère, l'autre étant exclue car Agrippa est certainement mort entre 98 et 100 (KOKKINOS, *Herodian Dynasty*, 397-398).

³⁴ Cela apparaît de manière particulièrement nette dans les *Antiquités*: nomination de Félix (20.137); don de la tétrarchie de Philippe à Agrippa (20.138); aventures conjugales des trois sœurs de ce dernier, Drusilla, Bérénice et Mariamme (20.139-148); mort de Claude et rappel de ses mariages successifs (20.148-150); avènement de Néron et brève évocation de ses crimes (20.151-157); libéralités de Néron en faveur de Soème, d'Aristobule et d'Agrippa (20.158-159); troubles en Judée sous Félix (20.160-178); nomination du grand-prêtre Ismaël ben Phabi et dissensions entre les grands-pontifes et les prêtres (20.179-181); magistrature de Festus (20.182-196).

mieux qu'il l'ait regroupée sous Néron si c'est seulement pendant le règne de ce dernier que Félix a exercé officiellement la charge de gouverneur de Judée.

En résumé: si l'on se base, d'une part sur les expressions quelque peu insolites employées par Josèphe pour désigner la nomination de Félix par Claude et, d'autre part, sur ses affirmations formelles suivant lesquelles le même Félix fut «placé à la tête de la Judée» par son successeur, on peut tenir à tout le moins pour probable que, envoyé tout d'abord en Palestine à titre de simple chargé d'affaires de l'empereur, il fut ensuite nommé formellement «procurateur [plus exactement: préfet] de Judée» par Néron — sans doute eu égard au rôle joué par son frère Pallas lors de l'avènement du nouvel empereur en octobre 54 (*Ann.* 13.2.2) ³⁵. Examinons à présent l'impact que ces observations peuvent avoir sur notre lecture d'Ac 24,27.

III. CONSÉQUENCES CHRONOLOGIQUES

Faisons un moment la supposition suivante: l'auteur du journal de voyage (qui constitue manifestement la principale source d'information de Luc pour cette partie des Actes) aurait su, tout comme Josèphe, que Félix n'avait été nommé officiellement «gouverneur» (ἡγεμόν) qu'en 54 — même s'il avait déjà été en place comme «chargé d'affaires» de Claude (ou «procurateur» au sens strict) «depuis de nombreuses années». La teneur de sa relation des faits, utilisée et amplifiée par Luc, pourrait alors être reconstituée à peu près comme suit:

24,22. Félix (...) les ajourna en disant: «Lorsque le tribun Lysias sera descendu, j'examinerai votre affaire». (...) **24,27.** Mais une période de deux ans étant arrivée à terme, Félix reçut pour successeur Porcius Festus. (...) Quant à Paul, il le laissa enchaîné ³⁶. **25,1.** Festus donc, ayant fait son entrée dans la province, monta trois jours après de Césarée à Jérusalem.

³⁵ Bien qu'elle ne le démontre pas, c'est également ce que semble supposer l'historienne M.-F. BASLEZ, *Saint Paul* (Paris 1991) 244: «Félix a été rappelé à Rome la deuxième année du règne de Néron, c'est-à-dire après octobre 56 [lire: octobre 55], après avoir accompli, selon les Actes, un mandat de deux ans. C'est Néron qui, tout au début de son règne (fin 54 ou début 55), l'avait nommé procurateur de la province avec autorité sur la Judée; on l'avait envoyé en Palestine assez longtemps auparavant, selon Tacite et les Actes, et il avait fait ses débuts comme commandant militaire en Samarie».

³⁶ À noter que, dans notre texte actuel, le participe «enchaîné» (δεδεμένον) s'harmonise mal avec ce qui nous est dit au verset 23: «Il prescrivit au centurion de le garder, *en lui laissant une certaine liberté*, et sans empêcher aucun des siens de l'assister» — d'où la correction du texte occidental au verset 27b: «*il le laissa en prison*» (SyrH^{ms}). Cela semble prouver que l'auteur de notre texte s'est bien inspiré d'une rédaction antérieure pour composer son propre récit.

Dans cette hypothèse, le génitif absolu διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης aurait moins eu pour but d'insister sur la durée de la magistrature de Félix (pré-occupation effectivement superflue dans le présent contexte) que d'expliquer pourquoi l'enquête que celui-ci avait annoncée en Ac 24,22 n'avait pu avoir lieu: avant même que le tribun Lysias ait eu l'occasion de descendre de Jérusalem, en effet, Félix serait arrivé au terme de son mandat de procureur et aurait vu débarquer son successeur — à qui il s'empressa bien entendu d'abandonner l'affaire de Paul. Mais Luc, comme la plupart de ses lecteurs postérieurs, se serait mépris sur le sens exact de cette διετία et aurait donc tenté de combler le vide en composant les épisodes édifiants que nous lisons aujourd'hui en Ac 24,24-26 — à moins, ce qui est également possible, qu'il n'ait estimé que ces épisodes avaient très bien pu se dérouler en l'espace de quelques semaines.

Aussitôt, tous les problèmes évoqués ci-dessus disparaissent: rien ne nous empêche plus de soutenir que Félix a effectivement exercé la charge de gouverneur de Judée pendant «deux ans» (en fait, un peu plus d'un an et demi), à condition de fixer le début de sa magistrature peu après l'avènement de Néron; malgré quoi, Paul était parfaitement fondé d'affirmer que Félix assurait «la justice dans cette nation depuis de nombreuses années» (Ac 24,10); enfin, Paul n'est pas resté prisonnier durant deux ans à Césarée: il a été envoyé à Rome quelques mois seulement après son arrestation, ce qui rend beaucoup plus intelligibles certains autres détails du récit des Actes. Mais en notant qu'«un terme de deux ans avait été accompli» pour expliquer le départ de Félix, l'auteur du journal de voyage nous fournit incidemment une précision qui est absente du texte de Josèphe: à savoir que le remplacement de Félix par Festus doit être situé en 56, pendant la deuxième année de Néron³⁷. Cette indication est-elle conciliable avec ce que nous savons par ailleurs de Félix, de son frère Pallas, et du début du règne de Néron? C'est ce qu'il nous reste encore à examiner.

À cet égard, une information fournie par Josèphe a fait couler beaucoup d'encre. Celui-ci nous dit en effet que, «Porcius Festus ayant été envoyé par Néron pour succéder à Félix, les principaux des Juifs de Césarée allèrent à Rome pour l'accuser, et il aurait été châtié de toutes ses injustices

³⁷ C'est bien la date qui figure dans la version latine de la *Chronique* d'Eusèbe (HELM, *Chronik*, 182; cf. *supra*, n. 14). Mais son auteur (ou son traducteur) n'a pas vu que, si l'on situe l'arrivée de Festus pendant la deuxième année de Néron (au cours de l'été 56), le transfert de Paul à Rome doit, lui, être placé dans la troisième (en 56-57). D'où la légère erreur de Jérôme quand il affirme que l'histoire des Actes des Apôtres «s'étend jusqu'à la seconde année du séjour de Paul à Rome, c'est-à-dire la quatrième année de Néron [58]» (*De uiris illustr.* 7.2). Comme le notait Harnack (*Chronologie*, 234, n. 2): «Genauer hätte er freilich das 5. Jahr nennen müssen. Er hat wohl nicht daran gedacht, dass die Reise nach Rom ein halbes Jahr in Anspruch nahm».

envers les Juifs si Néron n'avait montré beaucoup de condescendance pour les demandes de Pallas, frère de Félix, qui avait alors le plus grand crédit auprès de lui» (*AJ* 20.182). Ce témoignage se heurte cependant à une grave difficulté: selon Tacite (*Ann.* 13.14), Pallas fut démis de ses fonctions au début de l'année 55, peu avant le quatorzième anniversaire de Britannicus (13 février 55); si Félix a été rappelé en 56, il serait donc revenu à Rome plus d'un an après la disgrâce de son frère! Et la difficulté ne fait évidemment que croître si on ne le fait revenir qu'en 59/60.

Devant cette aporie, nombre d'auteurs, soit rejettent purement et simplement le témoignage de Josèphe, soit estiment que, vu son immense fortune, Pallas a très bien pu garder suffisamment d'influence sur Néron pour sauver son frère, même après sa révocation. Ce n'est pas exclu mais ce n'est pas ce que nous dit Josèphe qui, en insistant sur le fait que Pallas jouissait *alors* d'un grand crédit, montre clairement que, dans son esprit, l'intervention de l'ancien ministre de Claude se situait avant sa disgrâce. D'autres supposent que Pallas n'a jamais plaidé en faveur de Félix: ce seraient les Juifs de Césarée qui, déboutés de leur plainte contre l'ancien procurateur, auraient imaginé cette intervention pour expliquer leur échec. C'est également possible, mais on voit mal comment une telle rumeur aurait pu naître et se répandre si, au moment du procès fait à Félix, Pallas avait déjà été écarté de la cour depuis plusieurs années.

Je ne m'étendrai pas davantage sur les diverses solutions imaginées afin de concilier la chronologie de Félix avec ce que Josèphe nous dit de l'intervention réelle ou supposée de Pallas ³⁸, me contentant de souligner les points suivants: (1) même s'il a exagéré l'influence de Pallas, dont il ignorait sans doute la date exacte de la disgrâce, Josèphe devait au moins savoir que son renvoi remontait au début du règne de Néron; en effet, outre qu'il avait déjà près de vingt ans à l'époque, il nous assure avoir lu plusieurs auteurs «qui ont raconté l'histoire de Néron» (*AJ* 20.154); (2) ce qui importe n'est pas tant de décider si (et quand) Pallas est intervenu en faveur de Félix, que de se demander ce qu'il a bien pu advenir de ce dernier après la disgrâce de son frère: on comprend mal en effet comment Félix aurait pu être maintenu à la tête de la Judée quatre ou cinq ans encore après le renvoi de Pallas, alors qu'il n'avait plus, de ce fait, aucun appui à la cour — sinon peut-être celui d'Agrippine, elle-même mise à l'écart. Néron, qui venait de le confirmer dans sa charge (et même de lui donner une promotion!), n'a sans doute pas voulu le rappeler dès 55 — ne serait-ce que pour ne pas accroître encore le courroux de sa mère, qui avait

³⁸ À la suite de SCHWARTZ, *Studies*, 228-230, j'en ai avancé une plausible que l'on trouvera dans BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 536-537.

déjà fort mal pris le renvoi de Pallas et l'empoisonnement de Britannicus; mais on ne voit vraiment pas ce qui l'aurait retenu de le faire en 56 — et d'autant moins que, selon Tacite, il avait procédé, au cours de cette même année, à une épuration des cadres en Italie et dans les provinces (*Ann.* 13.30.1).

À nous en tenir à la seule logique de la politique menée par Néron au tout début de son règne, la date de 56 pour le rappel de Félix paraît donc non seulement plausible, mais aussi de loin la plus probable: celle de 55, théoriquement possible, est trop haute, compte tenu à la fois de la chronologie paulinienne et du récit de Josèphe ³⁹. Les années 57 et 58 ne correspondent à rien, dans la mesure où elles viennent à la fois trop tôt et trop tard: trop tard si l'on tient compte de la disgrâce de Pallas, survenue dès 55; trop tôt si l'on suppose (sans aucun indice probant à l'appui) que c'est l'assassinat d'Agrippine — survenu en mars 59 — qui aurait vraiment mis fin à l'influence de Pallas et, conséquemment, fait basculer le sort de son frère Félix. Enfin, les années 59 et 60 doivent être écartées pour les raisons suivantes:

1. Comme je l'ai amplement démontré ailleurs ⁴⁰, Festus est mort en poste en 60 et non en 62; or tous les critiques admettent qu'il faut lui accorder un mandat d'au moins deux ans. En fait, la date de 62, universellement avancée pour le décès de Festus, le début de la magistrature d'Albinus, et le martyre de Jacques survenu dans l'intervalle (*AJ* 20.197-203), provient d'un raisonnement discutable de Schürer — et de l'inadvertance de tous les commentateurs qui l'ont suivi: parce que Josèphe signale qu'Albinus était en poste en 62 (*BJ* 6.300-309), ils en ont conclu à tort qu'il était entré en fonction en 62, confondant ainsi un simple *terminus ante quem* avec un *terminus a quo* ⁴¹. Schürer quant à lui savait bien que l'indication de Josèphe nous autorise seulement à dire que «le second successeur de Félix, Albinus, arriva en Palestine *au plus tard* pendant l'été 62»; mais comme il était persuadé que Félix n'avait été remplacé qu'en 60 et que Festus était resté

³⁹ Voir à ce propos B.Z. WACHOLDER, «Chronomessianism: The Timing of Messianic Movements and the Calendar of Sabbatical Cycles», *HUCA* 46 (1975) 201-218, qui remarque que le soulèvement du «prophète» égyptien, rapporté par Luc comme par Josèphe, a probablement eu lieu aux environs de la Pâque 56, l'année 55-56 étant une année sabbatique, particulièrement propice à ce genre de manifestations pseudo-messianiques (216). Or, selon les Actes, qui situent l'arrestation de Paul une huitaine de jours après la Pentecôte, ce soulèvement avait eu lieu peu de temps auparavant (*Ac* 21,38). Félix devait donc être encore en place cette année-là. Cf. aussi *supra* n. 15 pour ce qui concerne la chronologie paulinienne.

⁴⁰ BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 542-545.

⁴¹ Ainsi, par exemple, E.M. SMALLWOOD, *The Jews under Roman Rule* (Leiden 1976) 271, n. 47: «The year of Festus' death is firm; Albinus was in office by October 62».

plus d'un an en poste, il a tout naturellement situé le décès de ce dernier en 62 ⁴². Et tous ses continuateurs ont pris cette date pour argent comptant — même quand ils plaçaient le départ de Félix en 56, 58 ou 59 plutôt qu'en 60 — négligeant ainsi une autre indication de Josèphe: selon lui en effet, c'est sous le gouvernement d'Albinus que «le roi Agrippa, après avoir agrandi la ville de Césarée dite de Philippe, la nomma Néronias en l'honneur de Néron» (AJ 20.211). Or nous savons par les monnaies et les inscriptions d'Agrippa II que cette inauguration a vraisemblablement eu lieu en 60/61; il en résulte évidemment qu'Albinus a dû entrer en charge au plus tard pendant l'été ou l'automne 60 ⁴³. Renseignement confirmé, ici encore, par ce que nous disent Eusèbe et Jérôme: dans son *Histoire ecclésiastique* en effet, Eusèbe relate le martyre de Jacques avant un autre événement qu'il date de «la huitième année de Néron (61-62)»; et dans la version latine de sa *Chronique*, l'envoi d'Albinus est placé tout à la fin de la sixième année de cet empereur (59-60) tandis que la mort de Jacques l'est au début de la septième (60-61) ⁴⁴. Quant à Jérôme, dans la notice relative à Jacques de son *De uiris*, il précise que celui-ci «dirigea l'Église de Jérusalem pendant trente ans, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à la septième année de Néron» ⁴⁵.

2. Un nouveau monnayage a eu lieu en Judée pendant la cinquième année de Néron (58-59); or Félix avait lui-même procédé à une émission de monnaie quelques années auparavant, ce qui autorise fortement à penser que cette nouvelle opération n'a eu lieu que sous son successeur. Smallwood et Kokkinos ont dès lors proposé de placer l'arrivée de Festus

⁴² SCHÜRER, *History*, 466. Sur le caractère contestable de son raisonnement, voir *supra* nn. 28 et 32.

⁴³ Ainsi SMALLWOOD, *Jews*, 572, note que l'occasion qui a déterminé Agrippa à faire commencer une nouvelle ère de son règne en 60/61 «was perhaps the inauguration of Neronias, dated by Josephus to Albinus' procuratorship (which gives a fairly close approximation of date [!]) and/or the conferment of the right of coinage; Agrippa's coinage begins under Nero and his Neronian issues (except one of 67) are mint-marked Neronias». Nikos Kokkinos, qui fut le premier à relever que ce fait interdit de placer le décès de Festus en 62, abonde dans le même sens et ajoute que la nouvelle dénomination de cette ville a probablement trouvé sa source dans l'institution par Néron, durant l'été 60, de nouveaux jeux quinquennaux baptisés «Néronies» (*Herodian Dynasty*, 323, 385-386). Mais il n'a pas fait le rapprochement avec les indications d'Eusèbe et de Jérôme (cf. *infra*) qui ne permettent pas de situer l'arrivée d'Albinus en 59, comme il en faisait également l'hypothèse.

⁴⁴ *Hist. eccl.* 2.24; HELM, *Chronik*, 182-183.

⁴⁵ *De uiris illustr.* 2.14. Ce chiffre rond de 30 ans — à compter évidemment depuis la mort de Jésus et non depuis le départ de Pierre de Jérusalem en 42 ou en 44 (Ac 12,17) — est évidemment un peu suspect; mais il pourrait aussi reposer sur une bonne tradition, ce qui permettrait d'expliquer comment Eusèbe et Jérôme ont pu déterminer, correctement et indépendamment de Josèphe, quand Albinus a succédé à Festus — et cela alors même qu'une tradition apologétique, dont témoignent Hégésippe et Origène, voyait dans le martyre de Jacques la cause de la destruction de Jérusalem, paraissant ainsi le placer peu avant le déclenchement de la guerre.

juste avant cet événement (en 58⁴⁶ ou même en 59⁴⁷). Mais cet argument numismatique ne nous fournit rien de plus qu'un autre *terminus ante quem* dans la mesure où — comme le relevait justement Schwartz⁴⁸ — les deux prédécesseurs de Festus qui ont procédé à un nouveau monnayage, Pilate et Félix, ne l'ont fait que deux ou trois ans après leur entrée en charge (Pilate en 28/29 et Félix en 54). Si Festus a procédé de la même manière, il a donc très bien pu arriver à Césarée en 56. Si l'on voulait malgré tout le faire débarquer en 59, il faudrait alors supposer, d'une part qu'il n'est pas resté plus d'un an en fonction, et d'autre part qu'une fois arrivé en Palestine, il n'aurait rien eu de plus pressé que de procéder à une nouvelle émission de monnaies, dont la date aurait été périmée quelques semaines après leur mise en circulation. Ce qui, manifestement, ne tient pas debout. Tout comme n'est guère plausible l'idée selon laquelle Félix aurait pu procéder à un second monnayage, fin 58 ou début 59, alors qu'il arrivait au terme de son mandat — en supposant bien entendu que Néron et son entourage l'aient inexplicablement maintenu en place pendant plus de quatre ans après la disgrâce de son frère Pallas, en dépit de son impopularité et de sa vénalité.

On le voit, le seul élément concret que l'on puisse encore opposer à la date de 56 pour le remplacement de Félix par Festus est constitué par la précision chronologique contenue en Ac 24,27, dont le présent article vient justement de montrer toute la fragilité et l'ambiguïté; argument qui paraît dès lors bien léger en regard de ceux fournis par l'histoire profane.

Un adversaire persévérant, et convaincu qu'Ac 24,27 ne saurait désigner autre chose que la durée de la captivité de Paul, pourrait alors nous rétorquer ceci: Festus a très bien pu remplacer Félix en 58; il aurait alors eu tout le temps de mettre en œuvre un nouveau monnayage au cours des six mois suivant son entrée en fonction. Et Paul, arrivé à Jérusalem en 56 — et non en 57 ou en 58 comme l'affirme la chronologie classique, suivant en cela la datation la plus courante du remplacement de Félix par Festus — serait bien resté prisonnier pendant deux ans à Césarée. Mais à cette ultime instance, on peut opposer un argument plus décisif encore que les précédents en faveur de 56, tiré lui aussi du texte des Actes.

Ac 27,2 – 28,14 (parsemé de passages en «nous») nous décrit en effet avec un grand luxe de détails le voyage maritime mouvementé de Paul et de ses compagnons de Césarée à Rome. Or, en Ac 27,9, nous trouvons la notation suivante: «la navigation devenait périlleuse car même le Jeûne

⁴⁶ KOKKINOS, *Herodian Dynasty*, 385.

⁴⁷ SMALLWOOD, *Jews*, 269, n. 40.

⁴⁸ SCHWARTZ, *Studies*, 242.

était déjà passé». La mer commençait à devenir dangereuse après l'équinoxe d'automne. Quant au Jeûne, il tombait le 10 Tishri, cinq jours avant la fête des Tabernacles et 173 jours après le 14 Nisan, soit *grosso modo* entre le 15 septembre et le 15 octobre. Pour que la remarque d'Ac 27,9 ait un sens, il faut donc que le Jeûne soit tombé assez tard cette année-là, tout à la fin du mois de septembre ou au début du mois d'octobre. Cette inférence s'impose d'ailleurs pour une autre raison: selon Ac 28,11, les naufragés passèrent trois mois à Malte; comme il n'est pas concevable qu'ils aient repris la mer avant le début du mois de février⁴⁹, cela signifie qu'ils ont échoué sur cette île début novembre; or la tempête qui les avait emportés peu après leur départ de Bons-Ports en Crète n'a pas duré plus de quinze jours (Ac 27,27). Il en ressort clairement que leur arrivée à Bons-Ports (où se situe la remarque sur le Jeûne) n'a pu avoir lieu avant la fin de la première semaine d'octobre au plus tôt⁵⁰. Si maintenant nous consultons les tables astronomiques nous indiquant quand tombait le 14 Nisan⁵¹, nous constatons que, pour les années 55 à 60, il n'y en a que deux au cours desquelles le 10 Tishri tombait au début du mois d'octobre (le 8 et le 5 respectivement): 56 et 59; en 58 par contre le Jeûne tombait très tôt, à savoir le 16 septembre⁵². La date de 59 étant manifestement trop tardive, comme on vient de le voir, seule reste donc en lice l'année 56⁵³. Paul serait alors parvenu à Rome au début du printemps 57.

Un léger indice paraît d'ailleurs confirmer cette date de 57 pour l'arrivée de Paul à Rome: dans la *Correspondance de Paul et de Sénèque*⁵⁴, les cinq dernières lettres seulement sont datées. La dernière dans l'ordre chronologique, qui se situe clairement à l'époque de l'incendie de Rome, porte la date du 28 mars (?) 64. Mais les quatre autres sont situées respectivement en juin, juillet, août 58 et le 23 mars 59. Comme rien ne paraît

⁴⁹ Cf. Vegetius, *De re militari* 4.39; Pline, *Hist. nat.* 2.47.

⁵⁰ Ainsi W.P. WORKMAN, «A New Date-Indication in Acts», *Expository Times* 11 (1899-1900) 316-319.

⁵¹ On les trouvera aisément dans l'ouvrage de JEWETT, *Dating*, 48 (pour les années 52 à 60) et 51-52 (pour les années 58 et 59). Voir aussi MAHIEU, *Between*, 510, n. 12.

⁵² HAENCHEN, *Acts*, et DOCKX, *Chronologies*, soutenaient comme on l'a vu la date de 55. Mais les calculs du second (86, n. 98) laissent un peu perplexe. En effet, il situe le Jeûne de 55 le 20 octobre, soit 203 jours après le 14 Nisan qui tombait alors le 31 mars; ce qui ne serait possible que si l'année 55 était embolismique, le 14 Nisan étant dès lors reporté au 30 avril. Toutefois, ce postulat indispensable n'est ni reconnu ni justifié par notre auteur.

⁵³ Comme le note MAHIEU, *Between*, 510-511, n. 129: «The conversion of 10 Tishri 56 AD into 8 September is unlikely because it implies that Passover 56 AD fell before the spring equinox».

⁵⁴ Dont on trouvera une traduction et un commentaire critique in *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, t. 1 (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade; Paris 1997) 1579-1594.

justifier un trou de cinq ans entre la lettre de 59 et celle de 64, on peut supposer que leur auteur disposait d'une tradition bien établie dans l'Église ancienne — dont témoignent également (et indépendamment) Eusèbe et Jérôme — qui le contraignait à placer la première (?) captivité de Paul à Rome à la fin des années 50 plutôt qu'au début des années 60. Fait d'autant plus remarquable que la même tradition place le martyre de Pierre et de Paul près de dix ans plus tard, en 67-68 ⁵⁵.

Compte tenu de tout ce qui précède, on peut dès lors tenir pour critiquement assurée la date de 56, à la fois pour la troisième (et dernière) visite de Paul à Jérusalem — près de cinq ans après la fin de sa mission de dix-huit mois à Corinthe — et pour son envoi à Rome où, selon Ac 28,30, il serait resté pendant deux ans en résidence surveillée (donc entre 57 et 59). Ce qui confirme (avec un léger correctif ⁵⁶) la chronologie d'Eusèbe et de Jérôme.

Ajoutons pour terminer que l'important n'est pas tant de savoir ce que l'auteur des Actes avait au juste à l'esprit quand il écrivait «une double année ayant été remplie» — l'interprétation nouvelle que j'en ai proposée ici, suite à une relecture du texte de Josèphe, n'en étant qu'une parmi d'autres également envisageables ⁵⁷ — que d'établir aussi fermement que possible, et indépendamment de toute exégèse préconçue d'Ac 24,27, la date à laquelle Festus a remplacé Félix ⁵⁸. Ce qui permet de résoudre du même coup l'irritante question de la prétendue captivité de deux ans de Paul à Césarée, qui a pour seul et unique fondement la lecture apparemment obvie, mais sans doute un peu trop rapide, de ce verset des Actes.

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⁵⁵ Pour un plaidoyer en faveur de l'authenticité possible de cette curieuse correspondance entre Paul et Sénèque (à l'exception de la lettre de 64, mal datée et mal placée, qui est certainement un faux), voir I. RAMELLI, «*L'epistolario apocrifo Seneca-San Paolo: alcune osservazioni*», *Vetera Christianorum* 34 (1997) 299-310. Si elle était avérée (ce qui paraît fort improbable), cette thèse dirimerait bien entendu définitivement la question.

⁵⁶ Cf. *supra*, n. 37.

⁵⁷ J'en avais déjà proposé quelques-unes dans BUNINE, «Félix, Festus», 554-555.

⁵⁸ En effet, pas plus que la date supposée du remplacement de Félix par Festus ne doit venir polluer notre lecture des grandes épîtres pauliniennes, qui doivent seules nous servir de guides pour reconstituer la chronologie des déplacements de Paul entre Éphèse, Corinthe et Jérusalem (cf. *supra* n. 15), l'interprétation de ce verset pour le moins problématique des Actes ne saurait interférer dans une enquête destinée à fixer cette date, laquelle relève essentiellement de l'histoire romaine.

SUMMARY

Acts 24,27 can be understood in two different ways: either, it indicates the duration of Paul's imprisonment, or it refers to the procurator Felix's term of office. This second possibility would admittedly make some other details of the Acts story much clearer, but it seems quite impossible. Indeed, whichever dates we choose for his arrival (50/51 or 52/53) and for his replacement by Festus (56 or 59/60), Felix certainly remained in office for more than two years. However, some strange or unusual expressions used by Josephus about him seem to indicate that he was first sent to Palestine by Claudius as a simple *chargé d'affaires* (or as a procurator *stricto sensu*), that he was only appointed in 54 as the governor of Judea by Nero, and that, following Acts 24,27, he was replaced by Festus two years later, in 56. This conclusion is supported by what we know about Nero's policy in the very beginning of his reign, as well as some pieces of evidence we can gather from other sources.

SLAVERY AND THE GENDERED CONSTRUCTION OF WORSHIP VEILS IN 1 CORINTHIANS

Paul's prescription of veiling practices at Corinth interfaced with Roman customs at the Roman colony. In the early imperial Roman view, clothing and grooming displayed one's place in the socioeconomic hierarchy, both by custom and by *fiat*. Roman interest in hair exemplified the artifice the Romans created in order to separate civilization from the natural, Roman society from the barbaric. As part of maintaining a militaristic appearance, Roman men during the late Republic and early imperial period visited commercial barbering establishments daily ¹. For women, ornate hairstyles indicated extreme wealth. Veiled heads signaled power over one's own head, that is, not being enslaved and ranked among the foreigners captured in war in the social hierarchy ². Only high-status individuals — male priests, female priests, elite women capable of being married, and so forth — wore veils. Elite satires make the abnormality of a slave woman receiving the honor of a marriage veil quite clear. Therefore, I argue that Paul gave the Corinthian Christian women status when he gave them veils, and he denied the social construction of the Roman Empire by refusing head-coverings for men. As the Corinthian Christians are participating in outside social events, they cannot completely extricate themselves from outside social values, as we see in the desire of the "strong" to partake of food sacrificed to idols at banquets. Paul encourages the Corinthians to cohere along gender lines in order to lessen their attachments to factions based on socioeconomic status or ritual (that is, baptism).

I. MEN AND VEILING

While Paul claims that "any" man who "prays or prophesies" with his head covered brings shame to it in 1 Cor 11,4, the Roman colony of Corinth had many men wearing veils for religious purposes ³. The nature

¹ E. BARTMAN, "Hair and the Artifice of Roman Female Adornment", *American Journal of Archaeology* 105 (2001) 1-25, here 3.

² R. MACMULLEN, "Women in the Roman Empire", *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 29 (1980) 208-218, here 218.

³ R. OSTER, "When Men Wore Veils to Worship: the Historical Context of 1 Corinthians 11.4", *NTS* (1988) 481-505; D.W.J. GILL, "The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-Coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16", *Tyndale Bulletin* 41 (1990) 245-260.

of this shame cannot be found in 2 Corinthians, where Paul states that Moses had to veil his *face* in order to prevent the Israelites from seeing the fading of God's radiance from it. In 1 Corinthians, Paul sandwiches his veiling comments between rules for idol food and for the Christian worship meal. The most likely explanation is that both Roman Jewish and non-Jewish Roman men covered their heads for worship. Likewise, Corinthian Christian women being able to veil their heads — whether married or not, Roman citizen or slave — was a departure from conventional Roman practice. Paul gives the Corinthians a mechanism for creating social class egalitarianism by recommending gendered veiling practices.

References to head-coverings for men can be found in the Torah, in later Jewish scriptures, and in rabbinic literature. When the Israelite priesthood is established in Exodus 28,40, head-coverings are prescribed for men for their "honor and glory". "Glory" is rendered in the LXX with the term "δόξα", which is also utilized in 1 Cor 11,15 to describe a woman's hair. Lev 8,9, where Aaron is attired for priestly service by Moses, and Zech 3,5, where Joshua is similarly attired for priestly service, underscore this point. In Isaiah and Ezekiel, male head-coverings denote Persian royalty, while male baldness indicates grief and dishonor ⁴. *4QWiles of the Wicked Woman* envisions a woman covering her head while engaged in male practices such as standing in the agora or the city gate. In the *War Scroll* (1QM, 4Q491), priests are identified by multicolored belts and turbans ⁵. The Talmud associates male head-covering with piety: "I never walked four cubits with uncovered head because God dwells over my head" (*Kiddushin* 31a). Murphy-O'Connor astutely notes that Paul should not have found male head-covering a problem; rather, as a Jew, Paul should have found turbans normal since they were attested in contemporary Jewish congregations, even as he followed fewer Jewish practices — e.g., circumcision, avoidance of unclean food — than other Christian communities ⁶.

The presence of male head-coverings in the context of early imperial Roman worship is demonstrated by authors such as Virgil ⁷, Plutarch ⁸,

⁴ Cf. Ezek 13,20-23; 21,26; 23,15; 24,17; 24,23; 27,30; 29,3.18; 32,2.

⁵ 4Q491 Frags. 1-3, l. 17.

⁶ J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, "Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16", *CBQ* 42 (1980) 482-500, here 484-485.

⁷ Male head-covering is associated with mantology and prayer (*Aen.* III, 547-552). Later passages develop the possibility of positive divine intervention when a female head is uncovered — Jupiter sends Iris to snip a lock of Dido's hair to allow her to leave her body as an act of mercy.

⁸ According to Plutarch, the reason that men unusually veil their heads for funerals is to honor their father as a god (*Moralia* 267A-B). Moreover, men remove their head-coverings

and Juvenal ⁹. During the time of Paul's ministry, a statue of the Roman emperor with his head covered in his role as *pontifex maximus* was erected in the center of Corinth. *Lararia*, niches built into the front area of the house and oriented toward the gaze of the guest entering the *domus*, featured male divine figures with covered heads ¹⁰. The ritual significance of male veiling might be seen in Virgil's description of the mantle placed over the head of Pallas lying on the funeral pyre ¹¹. Castor, according to Plutarch, rationalized male head-covering through an invocation of Pythagorean doctrines: "[T]he Spirit within us entreats and supplicates the gods without, and thus he symbolizes by the covering of the head the covering and concealment of the soul by the body" (*Moralia* 266C-E). Oster and Gill have exhaustively shown the pervasiveness of this custom in Roman sources and concluded that Paul was exhorting the male members of his audience at Corinth to refrain from seeking social standing ¹².

Recent scholarship by Oster and Gill has argued that Paul's removal of the worship veil from men detracted from their honor at worship ¹³. Roman men could veil their heads to show their submission to the greater divine. The emperor, after all, was found in the middle of the Corinthian agora *capite velato* in his role as *pontifex maximus*. Corinthian men could also have made offerings with the covered heads of Roman priests. If they came from such a background, men in the Pauline house-churches would be deviating from this custom in Paul's assertion that *none* of the churches of God had a veiling practice other than the one described in 1 Corinthians.

Yet, as Pitta has suggested, it is not the case that all men in Corinth construed veiling as the only mode of male worship and social comportment ¹⁴. Men there did not ubiquitously veil their heads in order to worship, as evidence from the cult of Isis shows. Lucius' shaved head of a male priest of Isis in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* demonstrates this, as Lucius finds Isis and then gains success as a rhetorician (11.30). While

in the presence of influential men in order that those with terrestrial power not seem to demand the same honors as the gods (*Moralia* 266C-E).

⁹ *Sat.* VI.

¹⁰ E.g., PPM V 571. See D. BALCH, *Roman Domestic Art and Early House Churches* (WUNT 228; Tübingen 2008) 52-58.

¹¹ *Aen.* XI, 93-104.

¹² OSTER, "When Men", 494; GILL, "The Importance", 245-260.

¹³ Oster ("When Men", 494) believes that the veils match the imperial practice. Roman sacerdotal officials such as the *Flamen Dialis* were not allowed outside without the cap (*galerus*). See also GILL, "The Importance", 260.

¹⁴ A. PITTA, "La donna e l'uomo nelle prime comunità cristiane: tra contingenze e peculiarità nelle lettere di Paolo", *Ricerche Storico Bibliche* 30 (2018) 99-124, here 118.

Apuleius depicts Lucius as wearing a radiate palm crown representing the rays of the sun, the narrative casts this as an unusual spectacle where crowds view his mystic dress as though he were a statue (11.24) ¹⁵. Like Apuleius, Pausanias tells us that Corinth and Cenchræ had several Isis sanctuaries (*Descr.* 2.2.3; 2.4.6). Paul's simple prohibition of male head-covering would not constitute a significant adjustment in habits for a man switching from worship of Isis to worship of Christ.

Thus, Paul encourages male unity when he focuses on male veiling in 1 Corinthians. Men who were once enslaved and now socially elevated appeared in the same guise as citizens from illustrious families. The beneficiaries of Paul's status disavowal were, accordingly, not only women, but also male slaves. Appearing as equals according to the rhetoric of veils rather than exact hairstyle should have reminded Corinthian men of their equality in Christ.

II. WOMEN AND VEILING

Since the veil's construction of gender difference in and of itself was not oppressive, one must consider what associations Paul made when he restricted the veil to only female members of the congregation. It is in this move that scholars such as Oster, Gill, Winter, and Fitzmyer see persisting sexism ¹⁶. In their view, the prohibition of the veil from Corinthian men deprived male Christians of honorific participation in Roman culture norms, while the female veil would have inevitably played into norms of marriage and thus submission. The significance of the veil can take on sinister connotations, as Gill notes: "If the wife insists on being unveiled then she might as well wear a sign of humiliation by having her hair cut. If she does not wish to bring such shame to her husband, herself and her family then she should be veiled" ¹⁷.

However, I argue that, because not all members of Paul's communities were *matronae* of considerable social standing, universal access to veiling would have been honorific to the most vulnerable women in the Corinthian house-churches. Outside of Paul's churches, innumerable clothing customs identified the body of a slave woman and women who had fallen

¹⁵ W. KEULEN, "Lubrico uirentis aetatae: Lucius as Initiate (*Metamorphoses* Book 11)", *Characterisation in Apuleius' Metamorphoses*. Nine Studies (ed. S. HARRISON) (Newcastle upon Tyne 2015) 29-58, here 51.

¹⁶ OSTER, "When Men", 481-505; Gill, "The Importance", 245-260; B. WINTER, *After Paul Left Corinth*. The Influence of Secular Ethics and Social Change (Grand Rapids, MI 2001).

¹⁷ GILL, "The Importance", 256.

from high social status. The *lex Iulia* specified certain garments like the *stola*, the garment over a woman's tunic, and *vittae*, hair ribbons, were to be worn by matrons and not prostitutes¹⁸. Convicted adulteresses and prostitutes were prescribed the male toga, the garment Augustus foisted upon a reluctant male citizenry. The matron who appeared in public without her *stola* was to be punished *pro stupro*, as an adultress. According to Ulpian's commentary, men who sexually harassed respectable women clothed in the garments of slaves or prostitutes were not liable for *iniuria*. Legal protection for enslaved women from sexual harassment did not feature in Roman law.

Paul expresses anxiety in multiple texts about the sexual vulnerability of women. 1 Cor 7,21-22 has a discussion of slavery and chastity. Romans 7 compares Christians to a married woman whose husband has died and who is therefore free to marry another without being charged with adultery¹⁹. That Paul has actual legal codes in mind might be suggested by verse 6: "But now we are discharged from the law, dead to that which held us captive, so that we are slaves not under the old written code but in the new life of the Spirit". Paul repeatedly advocates ignoring the oppressive sexual mores of traditional legal codes for the new freedom of Christ.

Many scholars have argued that the veil would have only implied matrimony. Schottroff takes the perspective that the veil signaled marriage and subjugation to men. She points out that among "the women who, when they prayed and prophesied, no longer wanted to wear veils as a sign of their subordination there may well have been women working in the sex trade who no longer wanted to accept the daily experience of being subjugated by a man"²⁰. Winter takes a similar approach in positing that the appearance of elite women without their marriage veils in the Corinthian house-churches had too much of a family resemblance to the "new woman", who engaged in promiscuity and flouted traditional Roman mores along with Roman "new men" such as Ovid. Winter reads the phrase "because of the angels" in 1 Cor 11,10 to mean that women needed to take care that the messengers visiting the community not be scandalized by the bare heads of the worshipping women²¹.

¹⁸ T. MCGINN, *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law* (Oxford 1998) 162.

¹⁹ As Gillian Beattie points out, Paul is willing to discuss the practical problems with the Roman institution of marriage in terms of varying access to legal courts by sex and class. G. BEATTIE, *Women and Marriage in Paul and his Early Interpreters* (London 2006) 27-28.

²⁰ L. SCHOTTROFF, *Lydia's Impatient Sisters. A Feminist Social History of Early Christianity* (trans. B. RUMSCHEIDT – M. RUMSCHEIDT) (Louisville, KY 1995) 133.

²¹ WINTER, *After Paul*, 137.

The veiling of respectable, upper-class women is a cultural norm in Greek, Roman, and Jewish literature. In a well-known quote, Valerius Maximus laments the disappearance of such moralistic displays as “the frightful marital severity of Sulpicius Gallus, who dismissed his wife because he learned she had gone about in public unveiled” (6.3.10). Plutarch indicates that “it is more often the custom for women to be veiled” (*Moralia* 267A), but MacMullen observes that this was only true for Greek women of lower classes. Higher class Greek women during the imperial period, he claims, “behaved exactly like their counterparts in Italy, fully visible, indeed making their existence felt very fully in public”²². Plutarch shows us that masculine attitudes toward the heads of their wives differed when he records a case where a wife was divorced for appearing in public with her head covered²³.

Veils would have been familiar symbols of marriage to the Corinthians. Statuary for public places depicted the virtuous, elite Greek matron with veiled head. Redfield and Carson have suggested that the defining moment of the Greek marriage ceremony is the *anakalupteria*, the bride’s unveiling of herself to her new husband. This gesture implies the bride’s acquiescence to her marriage. For the *anakalupteria*, an act which the woman essentially repeated every morning after her marriage, Martin notes that there could be a paradoxical ambiguity in females retaining agency even as they were submitting in both Greek culture and the Corinthian house-church²⁴. The ubiquity of the marriage veil is the reason that scholars such as Wire and Schottroff assume that the Corinthian female prophets must have eschewed the veil in order to be countercultural and that Paul was curtailing this liberated attitude²⁵.

In Roman culture, literature referred to the flame-colored bridal veil as a metonymy for the bride (Catullus 61)²⁶. The Roman bride *nubere viro* — in other words, she literally put on a veil²⁷. In Petronius’ *Satyricon*, Quartilla,

²² MACMULLEN, “Woman in Public”, 218.

²³ J.L. HILTON – L.L.V. MATTHEWS, “Veiled or Unveiled? (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 267B-C)”, *The Classical Quarterly* (2008) 336-342.

²⁴ J. REDFIELD, “Notes on the Greek Wedding”, *Arethusa* (1982) 181-201, here 192; A. CARSON, “Putting her in her place: Woman, dirt, and desire”, *Before Sexuality. The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World* (eds. D. HALPERIN – J.J. WINKLER – F. ZEITLIN) (Princeton, NJ 1990) 135-169, here 163-164. The Mishnah follows the stringent divorce stipulations related by Roman moralists in prescribing divorce for women who did not wear appropriate clothing, who went about with disheveled hair, and who went into the street and talked with a man (*Ketubot* 7.6). A. JAUBERT, “Le voile des femmes (1 Cor XI.2-16)”, *NTS* 18 (1972) 419-430, here 424.

²⁵ SCHOTTROFF, *Lydia’s Impatient Sisters*, 133.

²⁶ For the veil as an example of metonymy, see K.K. HERSCH, *The Roman Wedding. Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity* (Cambridge 2012) 98, 300.

²⁷ HERSCH, *Roman Wedding*, 16.

a priestess of Priapus, inverts the traditional Roman wedding by staging a mock wedding between Giton, her lover Encolpius' *eromenos*, and seven-year-old Pannychis, her own maid servant. The name Pannychis suggests an all-night rite or festival, which Quartilla should have been adept at performing in her capacities as a priestess. Pannychis' head is draped in a flame-colored veil, and she is led by torches to the bridal chamber²⁸. The episode, through its inversion of normative ritual praxis, underscores the association of veiling with marriage. The irony in the scene is that, as a high status priestess and mature woman, Quartilla should have been enacting no such rites, while, as a low status young girl, Pannychis should not have been participating. Such passages give credence to the early Classicist correlation of the marriage veil with sacrifice at the household hearth and at the altar of Jupiter²⁹. More importantly, the absurdity Petronius expects his readers to find in this scene is a good indication that Paul's giving the veil to all women in complete earnestness could have radically egalitarian implications for the members of the Corinthian house-church, who came from all social classes, including slave classes. A veil cordoned one off from the multiple male suitors of a flute-girl, even in the case of Pannychis.

Older scholarship and translations often interpret Paul's notation that a woman is the *δόξα ἀνδρός* at 1 Cor 11,7 as the "pride of her husband". That is to say, scholars have viewed the portrayal of women in 1 Cor 11,1-16 in terms of household structures. They assume that the term *γυνή* refers to a "wife" rather than a woman, presumably because lifelong celibacy was not a viable option in the religious cults of the early imperial period. Thus, Paul's *γυνή* relates to man in a marital manner, and the "glory" that she has is derivative of her spouse. It is assumed that she cannot be praying and prophesying on her own behalf but that her primary role is that of a wife rather than of a leading prophet.

These assumptions have not been made without reason. Plutarch, for instance, notes that a wife should give up her gods and adopt those of her husband at the moment of marriage. Roman moralists rail against women for pursuing superstitions, because the women are failing to subordinate their religious interests to those of their husbands, who are taken to subscribe to orthodox positions in Roman religion in support of the hegemony of the patriarchy. Pomponia Graecina, wife of Aulus Plautius,

²⁸ *Sat.* 26. See R. MAY, "Chaste Artemis and Lusty Aphrodite", *Satiric Advice on Women and Marriage*. From Plautus to Chaucer (ed. W.S. SMITH) (Ann Arbor, MI 2005) 137.

²⁹ A.W. ROSSBACH, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* (Stuttgart 1853) 284. Cf. H. DIELS, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin 1890) 70.

was even accused by her husband of *superstitio externa* and tried (and acquitted) in the presence of her entire *familia* in 57 or 58 C.E.³⁰ The *tutulus*, a purple veil, indicated the *mater familias*³¹. As Saller notes, the title *mater familias* “connoted sexual honor within a legitimate marriage” during the early imperial period. Cicero condemned Clodia for being the *mater familias* of a *domus* “in which the *mater familias* lives in the style of a prostitute” (*Cael.* 32.57), and he excoriated Anthony for throwing parties in Varro’s villas that mixed “whores with *matres familias*” (*Phil.* 2.105)³².

The fact that the immediately following unit of instruction is an inversion of Paul’s commendation suggests that it might have something to say about the interpretation of Paul’s intent in his instruction about veiling. Whereas Paul commends the Corinthians for preserving the traditions and does not impute their departure from them with respect to veiling to any errant theology, Paul emphatically does not praise the fact that the Corinthians’ meetings are doing more harm than good (1 Cor 11,17). It seems that the worship meal has factions: some leave hungry, others drunk. This unequal food distribution, as Theissen has noted, is most readily explained by socioeconomic divisions³³. Wealthy members were having their fill, while poorer members were going without.

If this socioeconomic factionalism is as much of an issue in the veiling prescriptions as Paul’s rhetoric implies, then the ramifications of veiling for status are profound. Paul’s veiling instructions interrupt the normal assignments of status by veils in the Roman culture in which the Corinthian Christians were active participants. No longer do only the most elite citizens get permission to veil. In Paul’s new world order, all men are equal, and all women are equal.

At 1 Cor 11,10, Paul claims that a woman must “have authority (ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν) over her head (ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς) because of the angels (διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους)”. Interpreters have alternately seen the veil as a prosthetic device that compensates for a woman’s inherent inferiority and enables her to worship as an equal, or as a prophylactic device that shields the woman from the unwanted sexual overtures of divine and human messengers.

³⁰ Tacitus, *Ann.* 13.32. See the discussion in C. OSIEK, *Rich and Poor in the Shepherd of Hermas*. An Exegetical-Social Investigation (Washington, D.C. 1983) 92-93.

³¹ S.E. WOOD, *Imperial Women*. A Study in Public Images, 40 BC – AD 68 (Leiden 1999).

³² R.P. SALLER, “Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Roman Household”, *Classical Philology* 94 (1999) 182-197, here 195.

³³ G. THEISSEN, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity*. Essays on Corinth (ed. and trans. J.H. SCHUETZ) (London 1990) 137-140. For critiques of this position, see D. NEWTON, *Deity and Diet*. The Dilemma of Sacrificial Food at Corinth (Sheffield 1998); A.T. CHEUNG, *Idol Food in Corinth*. Jewish Background and Pauline Legacy (Sheffield 1999).

Hooker's seminal article argued that women had to hide their glory in order to reflect that of men ³⁴. Arguing for the latter position, Martin contends that Paul threatens the women into submission by rhetorically presenting the specter of the "angelic phallus", that is, the implied threat of aggressive, masculine penetration that makes the veil not only a prosthetic device but also a prophylactic one. Being reminded of the omnipresence of masculine domination convinces a woman to acquiesce to male hegemony; as a single individual in a single community, she veils herself in order to display her conformity to secular hierarchical orders in which men are superior to women ³⁵. Quite recently, Finney has combined the two tendencies and argued that the angels present at Corinth are good guardians of order, but that this order is maintained by the self-abasement of the woman, who covers her hair as the sign of *her* glory (11,15). According to Finney, this means that the "woman's own honour is safeguarded from the sexual desire of heavenly beings".

Given the recurring motifs of judgment in 1 Corinthians, I suggest that the proper scriptural intertext is not the Fall of the Watchers, which lies outside of the creation narratives, but rather Paul's material inside 1 Corinthians concerning lawsuits. 1 Corinthians 4 casts Paul in the public gaze in the spectacle, being judged by spectators and angels alike. In 1 Corinthians 6, Paul encourages the Corinthians to cease bringing each other into court. Paul's reference to the women's authority and to the angels supports the idea that women might be seen as being respectable members of society who would judge angels and not need the interference of outside law courts ³⁶. Such a reading is particularly the case should we construe, with Winter, ἄγγελοι as "messengers" rather than "angels".

Paul's mention of angels when discussing veiling at worship also disrupts ecclesial structures of authority. If Paul is ascribing women's veiling to numinous figures, that only accentuates the move of authority away from traditional architectural modes of indicating ecclesial authority such as the *cathedra* found in Greek, Palestinian, and Iranian synagogues during the Roman era ³⁷. A similar logic occurs throughout 1 Corinthians as

³⁴ M.D. HOOKER, "Authority on Her Head: An Examination of 1 Cor. XI.10", *NTS* 10 (1963/64) 410-416.

³⁵ T. MARTIN, "Paul's Argument from Nature for the Veil in 1 Corinthians 11:13-15: A Testicle Instead of a Head Covering", *JBL* 123 (2004) 75-84, here 79.

³⁶ Richardson suggests that the three times Paul received 39 lashes from the local synagogue indicate his willingness to take blame rather than appeal to the courts. P. RICHARDSON, "Judgment in Sexual Matters in 1 Corinthians 6:1-11", *NovT* 25 (1983) 37-58, here 58. With such corporal circumscription, the promise to eventually one day judge angels would doubtlessly be compelling.

³⁷ L. LEVINE, *Ancient Synagogue*. The First Thousand Years (New Haven, CT 2005) 323-327; E.L. SUKENIK, "'Cathedra of Moses' in Ancient Synagogues", *Tarbiz* 1 (1929) 145-151.

Paul describes the worship meal. The performative act of uttering the Words of Institution receives no mention, consistent with Paul's denigration of the charismatic act of prophecy, while the unequal distribution of food serves as the etiology of disease at Corinth. What the Corinthians are to focus on are the shared elements of worship, the Eucharist and the veils, rather than the status indicators of the Roman cultural marketplace. All Corinthian Christians will have such a culturally honorific marker, the imperishable crown. In the meantime, they veil according to gender approved by divine or cultural messengers.

Paul's argument from nature in 1 Cor 11,13-15 has recently been interpreted in terms of Greco-Roman medical theory. In v. 13, Paul uses the imperative to exhort the Corinthians to "judge for themselves" whether it is "fitting" for a woman to pray to God with "uncovered head" (*ἀκατάκλυπτον*). Verse 14 asks if not "nature itself teaches" that a man lacks honor. Verse 15 provides the complementary thought that hair, man's dishonor, is a woman's glory (*δόξα*). The reason that hair is a woman's glory has to do with her naturally covered state: hair has been given to her as a covering (*περιβόλαιον*). The passive construction of the verb "to give" indicates that although woman has the authority to veil herself, her choice to do so conforms not with any man-made decree but with the natural order itself. Presumably, the agent obscured by the passive is divine Providence rather than the emperor or even Paul.

Roman construction of nature, as some scholars have argued, corresponds with Paul's assertions. In Greco-Roman medical theory, long hair does not belong on men. Pseudo-Phocylides states that "long hair is not fit for males, but for voluptuous women" (212). According to Hippocrates' theory of the body, a woman's body is assisted by long, hollow hair that increases the suction power of her hollow uterus (*Gland.* 4; Aristotle, *Gen. an.* 739a.37-739b.20). As discussed earlier, Roman cultural norms devalued long hair on men because it was an impediment to Roman military objectives. Josephus' embellishments on the story of Absalom serve to prove the superiority of Roman customs concerning long hair. Absalom's long hair is the source of his beauty, and it allows the enemy to capture him when it becomes entangled in a tree as he rides his horse (*Ant.* 7.236).

However, there is no reason that we need to presume that Paul's audience supports the military-influenced construction of hair fashion in Rome. Roman literary culture continues the epic tradition that presents long hair in a positive light, as we see in Synesius' commentary on the now-lost *Encomium on Hair* of Dio Chrysostom (40-120 C.E.). In this epic vein, we see that long hair symbolizes the virility of the male warrior in ancient

Greek culture. The unacceptability of long hair is not only pragmatic — that is, a protective measure against the plagues that often follow the movements of troops and the obvious vulnerability of the soldier's head to lice — but also arises from the association of long hair on men with foreign cultural norms. The short, cropped hair of a Roman man is a daily reminder of preferred cultural values.

If the historical witness of Acts is to be believed, allowing hair to grow was not shunned by Paul because of his Jewish heritage, for he cuts his hair at Cenchrae in relation to a vow. This appears to have been a variation on the nazirite vow that was undertaken by both male and female Jews according to the longstanding tradition presented in Scripture (Num 6,5; Judg 13,5; Luke 1,15; Acts 18,18; 21,23-24). Philo (*Immut.* 87-90) interprets the rules concerning hair maintenance in Numbers 6 as cultivating virtue in the mind of the one who makes the great vow (88). That this biblical rite has not simply become an allegory for Philo is clear in *Agr.* 175-178, where Philo holds that only an unintended abrogation of Num 6,9.12 can be ritually remedied (cf. also *Fug.* 115). Philo's remarks would seem to reflect contemporary popular piety (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.72; 19.292-296), where a thirty-day period would have separated both men and women from the Roman practice of daily hair maintenance ³⁸.

Thus, I think that the critical word in this passage is not Paul's invocation of nature but his invocation of the concept of judgment. When Paul asks the Corinthians to judge for themselves whether nature itself does not tell them that men should be unveiled and women should be veiled, he is encouraging them to think beyond contemporary social practices. His use of a leading question is a standard feature of his diatribe ³⁹. Paul expects that the Corinthians will discern that the practices are not only incompatible with social customs but that they are also unnatural.

As with men, Paul recommends female headgear practices that were not inconsistent with those already present in the many communities in Corinth. In early imperial Roman religion, headgear's valences included a sacerdotal role for women. Separating modest woman in the secular sphere from priestess in the religious sphere in terms of visual representation was

³⁸ Furthermore, Josephus (*Bellum* 2.313) described Berenike's Nazirite vow, which lasted 30 days, the duration of the standard Nazirite vow attested in the Mishnah (*Nazir* 1.3a; 6.3a).

³⁹ This can be seen clearly in his Letter to the Romans; see S.K. STOWERS, *Diatribes and Paul's Letter to the Romans* (SBLDS 57; Chico, CA 1981) 119-120; N. ELLIOTT, *The Rhetoric of Romans*. Argumentative Constraint and Strategy and Paul's Dialogue with Judaism (LNTS 45; Minneapolis, MN 2007) 132-141; and S. STOWERS, *A Rereading of Romans*. Justice, Jews, and Gentiles (New Haven, CT 1994) 165-166.

often not possible ⁴⁰. While there were many priestly offices held by men that conferred priestly status on their wives only by virtue of marriage, women also performed sacrifices. Paul does not identify any priests in 1 Corinthians, but he does give women the covered head not only of a respectable matron but also of a holy officiant in the diverse practices of the worship contexts familiar to the Corinthian house-churches. The custom of female headgear, indeed, should have seemed very natural to the Corinthians.

III. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the veils in 1 Cor 11,1-16 intersect with Roman cultural expectations regarding the presentation of the body in public. Augustan clothing reforms were part of a larger cultural program by *fiat* and by persuasion through the public art to introduce and inculcate Roman cultural norms. Horace, for example, celebrated the *Lex Julia* in his *Secular Hymns* in the Secular Games. The regular hosting of spectacles encouraged audiences to identify with the seating arrangement and corresponding attire of their social class.

Paul's instructions give the veil to women in addition to restricting it from men. While recent scholarship has contended that Paul only removes honor from the men, I have shown that Paul extends honor to women by allowing all women to veil. The position that Paul takes away honor from men to assign women marriage veils presumes different contexts for male and female veiling occurring at the same event. As Pitta has advanced, this view is not corroborated by the lack of male veiling in many religious contexts in Corinth, including that of the cult of Isis. It also ignores the significant frequency of female headgear in secular and religious roles. Paul is concerned with messengers, outsiders of angelic or human origins, in 1 Cor 11,1-16 in a manner similar to his relativization of glossolalia as an activity that could be incomprehensible to visitors (1 Cor 14,23). However, as in his instruction with glossolalia, church remains a liturgical activity. The ecclesial gathering does not represent a return to ordinary time in public, non-church settings with accompanying lesser expectations for veiling.

⁴⁰ The scant representation of sundry Roman priestesses often does not feature any strong distinction between modest woman and priestess, unless one considers the most ostentatious cultic practices such as the golden crowns of the imperial priests and priestesses in the Greek East. E.A. HEMELRIJK, *Hidden Lives, Public Personae*. Women and Civic Life in the Roman West (Oxford 2015) 96.

By having the Corinthian Christians veil according to their gender during their assembly, Paul implies that the Corinthians should identify by their gender instead of by their social class, which would have proscribed the veil from some of them. Paul progresses through his instruction trying to unravel the hierarchies whose formulations he mimics at the beginning of the pericope. Just as men and women are explicitly found to be interdependent rather than hierarchically ordered, so free and enslaved persons gain tacit equality.

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SUMMARY

This article analyzes the intersection of Paul's veiling instructions in 1 Cor 11,2-16. It argues that the veiling instructions promoted cohesion across social classes by creating an emphasis on sex or gender, which would have benefited enslaved men and women.

THE LEVITES, *RA-WO, ΛΑΟΣ / ΛΑΟΙ — A NEW PROPOSAL FOR LEXICAL AND HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP ¹

Different proposals for possible relationships between Mycenaean Greek and the languages of the Eastern Mediterranean have been advanced in the scholarly literature in recent years. For natural reasons, most attention has been given to the possible relations between Greek and Anatolian languages ². With these considerations in mind, the present essay aims to highlight the possible relations of Mycenaean Greek and Hebrew, as well as to propose a hypothesis that may provide an explanation for the question of modes of cultural transmission.

The questions of multilateral linguistic and cultural relationships in the Eastern Mediterranean during the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age have been addressed in depth by scholars. In some cases, the Oriental origins of words and institutions are advocated ³, while in others the Aegean origins are proposed ⁴. There are cases where establishing the direction of cultural transmission, if there was any, may not be possible ⁵. There are cases, however, where the origin of the word/institution may be determined with a high degree of probability. What follows focuses only on possible borrowings from Mycenaean Greek into Hebrew.

¹ I would like to thank Barry Keane for improving the English of this article.

² See Z. SIMON, “Anatolian Influences on Greek”, *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity*. North-Eastern Mediterranean at the Turn of the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age (eds. Ł. NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANŃ – M. WĘCOWSKI) (Philippika 118; Wiesbaden 2018) 376-418.

³ M.C. ASTOUR, “Greek Names in the Semitic World and Semitic Names in the Greek World”, *JNES* 23 (1964) 193-201; *Hellenosemitica*. An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece (Leiden 1965); M. WEST, *The East Face of Helicon*. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth (Oxford 1999); R. ROSÓŁ, *Früheseemitische Lehnwörter im Griechischen* (Frankfurt am Main 2013); “Early Semitic Loanwords in Greek”, *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity*. North-Eastern Mediterranean at the Turn of the Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age (eds. Ł. NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANŃ – M. WĘCOWSKI) (Philippika 118; Wiesbaden 2018) 334-344.

⁴ C.H. GORDON, “Homer and the Bible. The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature”, *HUCA* 26 (1955) 43-108; W. BURKERT, “Lescha-Liškah. Sakrale Gastlichkeit zwischen Palästina und Griechenland”, *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament* (eds. B. JANOWSKI – K. KOCH – G. WILHELM) (OBO 129; Freiburg – Göttingen 1993) 19-38.

⁵ See J.P. BROWN, *Israel and Hellas* (BZAW 231, 276, 299; Leiden 1995-2001); M. FINKELBERG, *Greeks and Pre-Greeks*. Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition (Cambridge 2006).

A number of cases of lexical borrowings from Mycenaean Greek into Hebrew have been indicated in previous scholarship. The origin of the term *wanax* in Mycenaean Greek is clear. The proper name Anak (עֲנַק), reported in the Hebrew Bible (cf. Numbers 13), may be easily understood as the transformation of the term *wanax* into a proper name⁶. The strong presence of the Greek term in the Mycenaean *milieu* and its incidental appearance in the Hebrew Bible as a proper name make the Greek origin the most plausible explanation of the *wanax*-Anak case.

A similar case can be made for the Mycenaean Greek term *da-po-ri-to-ju*, i.e. the predecessor of the Greek *labirynthos*, denoting “sanctuary” or “holy place”⁷. With some confidence we can affirm that this term originated in the Aegean culture. Francesco Aspesi was probably the first to advance the hypothesis that Mycenaean Greek *da-po-ri-to-ju* was adopted in Hebrew in the form of *debir* (דְּבִיר), meaning the “Holy of Holiness” in the temple (cf. 1 Kings 6–8)⁸.

The case of the word/name “Tamar” (תָּמָר) was also pointed out as being a possible borrowing in Hebrew from Mycenaean Greek, or one of the Anatolian languages⁹. It may have originated in Hittite/Luvian *dammara-* (“cultic priestess”), or Mycenaean Greek *damart-* (“[religious or civic] functionary”), and the name of the biblical figure Tamar might be interpreted as related to this word, and rooted in its meaning (cf. Genesis 38).

⁶ E.C.B. MACLAURIN, “Anak/’Αναξ”, *VT* 15 (1965) 468-474; M. DOTHAN, “Ethnicity and Archaeology: Some Observations on the Sea Peoples at Ashdod”, *Biblical Archaeology Today*. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology. Jerusalem, June-July 1990 (Jerusalem 1993) 53-55; cf. T.G. PALAIMA, “Wanaks and Related Power Terms in Mycenaean and Later Greek”, *Ancient Greece*. From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer (eds. S. DEGER-JALKOTZY – I.S. LEMOS) (Edinburgh 2006) 53-71.

⁷ See J.H. HELLER, “A Labyrinth from Pylos?”, *AJA* 65 (1961) 57-62; M. GUIDI, “Greco ΛΑΒΥΡΙΝΘΟΣ: note di linguistica mediterranea”, *Minos* 25 (1990) 175-193; I. YAKUBOVICH, “Labyrinth for Tyrants”, *Studia Linguarum* 3 (2002) 93-116.

⁸ F. ASPESI, “Greco λαβύρινθος, ebraico d^ebîr”, *Bandhu*. Scritti in onore di Carlo Della Casa (eds. R. ARENA – M.P. BOLOGNA – M.L. MAYER MODENA – A. PASSI) (Alessandria 1997) 2:491-513; IDEM, “L’ape e illabirinto. Un possibile nesso lessicale in ebraico nel quadro del sostrato egeo-cananaico”, *XII Incontro Italiano di Linguistica Camito-semitica (Afroasiatica)* (ed. M. MORIGGI) (Rubbettino 2007) 127-138; IDEM, “A margine del sostrato linguistico ‘labirintico’ egeo-cananaico”, *Proceedings of the 13th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistic*. Udine 2007 (eds. F.M. FALES – G.F. GRASSI) (Padova 2010) 33-38. The hypothesis was accepted by a number of scholars such as G. GARBINI, *Scrivere la storia d’Israele*. Vicende e memorie ebraiche (Brescia 2008) 77-78; see also D. ASTORI, “Rumanian Tabara and ‘Aegean-(pre)Philistine’ *t/d(a)br”, *Journal of Linguistic Studies* 3 (2010) 113-117; Ł. NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANŃ, *Goliath’s Legacy*. Philistines and Hebrews in Biblical Times (Philippika 83; Wiesbaden 2016) 183-184.

⁹ Y.L. ARBEITMAN, “Tamar’s Name or Is It? (Gen 38)”, *ZAW* 112 (2000) 341-355.

The list of possible loan-words from Greek into Hebrew may be further expanded with cases of lexemes from the Hebrew Bible for which a Greek etymology has been proposed: e.g. *pilegeš*, *liškah*, *mekerah*, *peten*, *lappid*, Achish, Goliath¹⁰. Most of them, however, do not have their attestation in Mycenaean Greek, which makes the historical evaluation of the adoption process of possible loan-words more hypothetical and speculative.

Much different in its nature is the status of the hypothesis linking the biblical name/tribe Dan (דן) with the term *Danaoi*¹¹. According to this reconstruction, the biblical term Dan is related to the name “Danuna” (*dnynw*), one of the names in the lists of the Sea Peoples, as well as to the population of the city of Adana — *dnnm*, as attested in the eighth-century BCE inscription from Karatepe¹². The Greek name *Danaoi* is abundantly attested in Greek literature of the archaic and classical periods, but it certainly stems from the Mycenaean period. It is attested — in the form *Tnj* — already in the fourteenth century BCE, in the Egyptian text dated to the reign of Amenhotep III¹³. In contrast to the abovementioned cases of the supposed borrowing of the terms from Mycenaean Greek into Hebrew, the case of Dan-*Danaoi* attests to different phenomena. It highlights the possible migration of the group of people from the Aegean to Levant. Interestingly enough, the migrating group managed to keep its name and perhaps even its identity.

When considering any of the abovementioned hypotheses, one should be open to the possibility that there must have existed adequate circumstances allowing for intercultural relations between Mycenaean Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze Age and/or Early Iron Age. The nature of our sources makes a reconstruction of this process of intercultural exchange highly speculative. Despite this reservation, it would be difficult not to think about the Sea Peoples, and the turmoil of their migration, as being the possible context of these intercultural relationships. The Sea Peoples, and the Philistines in particular, may be pointed out as the natural intermediaries between Mycenaean Greece and Canaan at that time¹⁴.

¹⁰ NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, *Goliath's Legacy*, 136, 190-192, 197-198, 224, 237-238, 245, 247-250.

¹¹ Y. YADIN, “‘And Dan, Why Did He Remain in Ships?’ (Judges 5,17)”, *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1 (1969) 9-23; reprinted in *Essential Papers on Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. F.E. GREENSPAHN) (New York 1991) 294-310.

¹² NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, *Goliath's Legacy*, 76-78.

¹³ E. CLINE, “Amenhotep III and the Aegean: A Reassessment of Egypto-Aegean Relations in the 14th Century B.C.”, *Orientalia* 56 (1987) 1-36; E. CLINE – S.M. STANNISH, “Sailing the Great Green Sea? Amenhotep III's ‘Aegean List’ from Kom el-Hetan, Once More”, *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 3 (2011) 6-16.

¹⁴ Ł. NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, “The Philistines in Jerusalem? The Use of Archaeological Data as the Ethnic Marker: the Case of the Philistines, Other ‘Sea Peoples’, and Judah”,

However, all attempts to explain historically the processes of borrowing loan-words are limited by the speculative aspects of the reasoning, based only on lexeme analysis. Without knowing when, and where, and who might have been responsible for this process, we will always have to accept a high degree of uncertainty. Scholars tend to explain the hypothetical conditions in which these intercultural relations occurred on two grounds: 1) the borrowings may have been due to the existence of the broad, common cultural *milieu* of the Eastern Mediterranean; or, 2) they may have resulted from the migration of the Sea Peoples, who might have brought intellectual values and their names from the Aegean to the Near East. The first explanation can neither be falsified nor verified. In the second case, there is still a high degree of approximation, as we do not know any specific details about the people responsible for conveying the words from one language to another. Investigating the Philistines¹⁵, the Danites¹⁶, or other Sea Peoples¹⁷ as the possible transmitters might be useful. Still, it is insufficient to reconstruct the plausible process of intercultural relationships that would have encouraged the acceptance of loan-words into the receptor language. It is not enough to identify two neighbours to reconstruct the contact-zone. This is particularly true in the case of the Mycenaean Greek words that may have been integrated into the Hebrew Bible.

Having all this in mind, any information that helps explain the process more accurately would be of particular value. Such a case is provided if we know the people responsible for intellectual transfer from the Greek-speaking to the Hebrew-speaking environment. And here I advance the hypothesis that such a role was played by the group named in the Hebrew Bible as the Levites. The Hebrew word *levi* (לֵוִי) — I would argue — forms a loan-word from the Mycenaean Greek **ra-wo*, as found in the term *lawagetas* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*)¹⁸. Hebrew *levi* (*l-w-y*) would be a pure equivalent of the Mycenaean Greek term **ra-wo* / **la-wo*, which in later Greek became the noun *λαός* / *λαοί*¹⁹.

SOMA 2012. *Identity and Connectivity*. Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1-3 March 2012 (eds. L. BOMBARDIERI – A. D'AGOSTINO – G. GUARDUCCI – V. ORSI – S. VALENTINI) (BAR–S2581; Oxford 2012) 89-96; IDEM, “The Philistines as Intermediaries between the Aegean and the Near East”, *The Bible and Hellenism. Greek Influence on Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (eds. Th.L. THOMPSON – Ph. WADENBAUM) (Durham 2014) 89-101; see also BURKERT, “Lescha-Liškah”; O. MARGALITH, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible* (Wiesbaden 1994); G. GARBINI, *I Filistei*. Gli antagonisti di Israele (Milano 1997).

¹⁵ GARBINI, *I Filistei*; NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, “The Philistines as Intermediaries”.

¹⁶ YADIN, “‘And Dan, Why Did He Remain in Ships?’”.

¹⁷ MARGALITH, *The Sea Peoples*.

¹⁸ NIESIOŁOWSKI-SPANÒ, *Goliath's Legacy*, 83-87.

¹⁹ J. CHADWICK – L. BAUMBACH, “The Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary”, *Glotta* 41 (1963) 157-271, here 216-217; F. AURA JORRO – F.R. ADRASOS, *Diccionario Griego-Español, Diccionario Micénico*. 2 vols. (Madrid 1999) 2:230-231.

This new hypothesis would present a challenge to the long-standing etymology of the Hebrew word *levi* (לוי), which posited a relationship with the Hebrew root *lwh* (“to join”, “to be joined”) ²⁰, with its equivalent in the Aramaic root *lwy* (“to accompany”) ²¹. The relation between the name *lwy* and the Hebrew root *lwh* is suggested by the word-play in Num 18,2 (לוי [...] וילוי). Similarly, the case of the popular etymology expressed in Gen 29,34 (“Again she conceived and bore a son, and said, ‘Now this time my husband will be joined [*lwh*] to me, because I have borne him three sons’; therefore, he was named Levi”) does not offer any basis for a real etymology. The suggestions linking the name Levi with the name of his mythical mother Leah (*l’h*) also present different forms of popular etymology. On the other hand, the suggested relation between the name Levi and the Minaean word *lau’ân* (“priest”) from the root *lw’* may not necessarily point to the origins of the biblical term but rather attest to the impact of biblical terminology on South-Arabian ²².

If one accepts the hypothesis that the Hebrew *lwy* originates in Greek Mycenaean **la-wo*, the construction should be understood as *lw-y*, analogously to other group names used in the Hebrew Bible such as *ht-y* (“Hittites”) and *’mr-y* (“Amorites”). In this case, there would be full phonetic agreement: *l-w*. Such an etymology (**la-wo* → **lew*) requires only the explanation of the vowel shift: *a* → *e*. However, this phonetic phenomenon is not unusual in Hebrew ²³. In the Hebrew Bible, the noun *Levi* often appears with the article *h-*, which may indicate it being understood as a common noun, not a proper name ²⁴, which in turn may even strengthen the hypothesis relating the name Levi to the Greek **la-wo* (“the people”).

The Greek word **ra-wo*, *λαός* / *λαοί* (“the people”, “armed men”) is well attested in the literature ²⁵. The usage of the Hebrew term *lewy* / Levites in the Hebrew Bible shares a high degree of semantic meaning corresponding to its supposed Greek prototype.

In the Bible, the Levites as a group are usually linked to the cultic sphere. There are, however, strong reasons to see this relationship as secondary. The so-called Blessing of Moses (Deut 33,8-11) states:

²⁰ BDB, 532-533; cf. *DCH*, 4:526-529.

²¹ *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (eds. J. HOFTUIZER – K. JONGELING) (Leiden 1995) 1:569.

²² I. CARDELLINI, *I “Leviti”, l’Esilio e il Tempio*. Nuovi elementi per una rielaborazione storica (Roma 2002) 28-32.

²³ E. LIPÍŃSKI, *Semitic Languages*. Outline of a Comparative Grammar (OLA 80; Leuven 1997) 190 [§21.6].

²⁴ BDB, 532.

²⁵ P. CHANTRAINE, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Histoire des mots (Paris 1999) 619-620; cf. É. BENVENISTE, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris 1969) 2:89-95.

And of Levi he said: Give to Levi your Thummim, and your Urim to your loyal one, whom you tested at Massah, with whom you contended at the waters of Meribah; who said of his father and others, "I regard them not"; he ignored his kin, and did not acknowledge his children. For they observed your word, and kept your covenant. They teach Jacob your ordinances, and Israel your law; they place incense before you, and whole burnt offerings on your altar. Bless, O LORD, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, so that they do not rise again.

Undoubtedly this passage links Levites with the cult. However, the reference to the teaching of the Torah (vv. 9b-10) establishes that this is a later interpolation ²⁶. The Levites in Deuteronomy 33 are referred to in a military context that describes the Levites' military actions during the mythical Exodus (Exodus 32). The Levites are referred to as those military fighters executing Moses' orders:

He said to them [Levites], "Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel, 'Put your sword on your side, each of you! Go back and forth from gate to gate throughout the camp, and each of you kill your brother, your friend, and your neighbor'". The sons of Levi did as Moses commanded, and about three thousand of the people fell on that day. (Exod 32,27-28)

The Levites constitute the guards of the Ark, and as such are soldiers par excellence: "But the Levites shall camp around the tabernacle of the covenant, that there may be no wrath on the congregation of the Israelites; and the Levites shall perform the guard duty of the tabernacle of the covenant" (Num 1,53). The term *šmr* ("to keep", "to watch", "to preserve") used in this passage has a clear military context ²⁷. Similar military aspects of the Levites may be seen also in Exod 17,1-7 and Num 20,1-13 ²⁸.

The military nature of the Levites (and the Simeonites) is also expressed in the text that has been called "Jacob's Blessing":

Simeon and Levi are brothers; weapons of violence are their swords. May I never come into their council; may I not be joined to their company — for in their anger they killed men, and at their whim they hamstrung oxen. Cursed be their anger, for it is fierce, and their wrath, for it is cruel! I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel. (Gen 49,5-7)

Deut 33,11 — part of the blessing received by the Levites — taken alone, looks like a ritual blessing for soldiers and has very few cultic aspects

²⁶ Ch. BULTMANN, "Deuteronomy", *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (eds. J. BARTON – J. MUDDIMAN) (Oxford 2001) 135-158, here 156.

²⁷ BDB, 1036-7.

²⁸ See Deut. 6,1; 9,22; 33,8; Pss 81,8; 95,8; 106,32.

in itself: “Bless, O LORD, his substance, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, so that they do not rise again”.

The passage in Deut 33,8-11, quoted above, might suggest a foreign origin for the Levites ²⁹. Verse 9 (“who said of his father and others, ‘I regard them not’; he ignored his kin, and did not acknowledge his children”) is usually interpreted as referring to their cultic activities. The text openly states: “For they observed (*šmr*) your word, and kept (*nšr*) your covenant”. This text, in its current form, links the particular status of the Levites with their cultic duties. It is not impossible, however, to think about the possible memory of Levites as strangers. If such would be the case, the word *ger* (“alien”, “stranger”) ³⁰, used several times in Deuteronomy in connection with Levites, may underscore the real memory about this group: e.g., “Rejoice before the LORD your God — you and your sons and your daughters, your male and female slaves, the Levites resident in your towns, as well as the strangers, the orphans, and the widows who are among you — at the place that the LORD your God will choose as a dwelling for his name” (Deut 16,11). This passage refers to the tradition that the Levites did not dwell in any particular region, but inhabited certain cities.

At that time the LORD set apart the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to stand before the LORD to minister to him, and to bless in his name, to this day. Therefore, Levi has no allotment or inheritance with his kindred; the LORD is his inheritance, as the LORD your God promised him. (Deut 10,8-9)

According to Num 35,1-8 and Josh 13,33; 21,1-42, the Levites did not possess any given territory, but would have dwelt in special towns ³¹. The existence of the so-called Levitical towns and the absence of any given territory inhabited by this Israelite “tribe” is usually explained as the result of the Levites’ professional cultic service. This explanation slavishly follows the biblical account about the Levitical cultic personnel in the pre-Exilic period. On the other hand, it may be much more straightforwardly explained if one accepts the military role of the Levites, who may have been stationed in cities early in their history. The idea that the Levites may have performed

²⁹ See J.S. BADEN, “The Violent Origins of the Levites: Text and Tradition”, *Levites and Priests in Biblical History and Tradition* (eds. M.A. LEUCHTER – J.M. HUTTON) (Atlanta, GA 2011) 103-116.

³⁰ *DCH*, 4:527.

³¹ See J.M. HUTTON, “The Levitical Diaspora (II): Modern Perspectives on the Levitical Cities Lists (A Review of Opinions)”, *Levites and Priests in Biblical History and Tradition* (eds. M.A. LEUCHTER – J.M. HUTTON) (Atlanta, GA 2011) 45-81; J.R. Spencer, “Levitical Cities”, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. FREEDMAN) (New York 1992).

military duties in the border towns of the kingdom of Israel was first proposed by Edward Lipiński ³².

The chronology of the biblical layers and traditions related to the Levites is difficult to establish, particularly pertaining to absolute dates, which are hardly possible to determine. It is, however, quite certain that in the relative chronology the tradition linking the Levites with the temple service is the most recent of the traditions and cannot predate the Babylonian exile ³³. If so, the earlier stratum of tradition that highlights the Levites' role as soldiers fits in with the semantic field of the proposed Greek prototype, where λαός / λαοί meant "the people" as well as "soldiers" (cf. Hitt. *lahḫa* — "military campaign") ³⁴. The very fact of the close semantic equivalents of the Hebrew *lewy* and Greek λαός / λαοί, along with the linguistic proximity of the terms **lew* and **ra-wo*, lead me to think that the etymology of the Hebrew term *levi* from the Greek Mycenaean **ra-wo* offers an explanation that is worthy of consideration.

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Both a foreign loan-word in Hebrew, denoting a group of people, and a recognition of this group as belonging to the same "tribal" tradition suggest that the linguistic contact must have occurred early. The linguistic borrowing of the group-name indicates that Hebrew-speaking people were in contact with this very group. In this epoch, the Levites, newcomers from the Aegean became part of the heterogeneous Hebrew-speaking society. It is hardly possible to establish the precise date for such a process, but the Sea Peoples' migration during the twelfth century BCE may be considered as one of the most plausible periods. If any later date were accepted, the hypothesis would have to be adjusted. The group-name would not be a loan-word from Mycenaean Greek, but a borrowing from Classical Greek, i.e., not from **ra-wo*, but directly from λαοί.

This hypothesis explains the conditions and indicates a cultural transfer from the Greek-speaking to the Hebrew-speaking environments. In effect, I argue that the Levites should be considered as a group of Greek-speaking mercenaries who managed to settle down in Canaan and integrate with the local population, preserving their own group name. In my view, the

³² E. LIPÍŃSKI, *On the Skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*. Historical and Topographical Researches (OLA 153; Leuven 2006) 228.

³³ M.D. REHM, "Levites and Priests", *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. FREEDMAN) (New York 1992); CARDELLINI, *I Leviti*.

³⁴ *Chicago Hittite Dictionary*, vol. L-N (Chicago, IL 1989) 4.

hypothesis of the Greek origins of the Levites offers a better etymology for the name Levi as well as providing an explanation as to how some Mycenaean Greek loan-words reached the Hebrew-speaking population.

As the result of accepting the hypothesis of the Greek origins of the Levites, one would have to admit that the Hebrew Bible contains strata going back to the early Iron Age or that the Levites maintained their identity for a very long time. This is not the place to investigate these two issues, both of which may be correct. I would only venture to say that accepting this hypothesis opens up new heuristic horizons for a better understanding of the history of the Eastern Mediterranean in the early Iron Age.

Accepting the abovementioned hypothesis also allows us to recognize that if the Levites were Greek by origin, then — despite its paradoxical aspect — the most Jewish of the Jews were not originally Semites.

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SUMMARY

The hypothesised relations between Mycenaean Greece and the Near East, especially Canaan in the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age, have led some scholars to propose Greek etymologies for a number of terms attested in the Hebrew Bible. This raises the question about possible vehicles for such cultural interrelations. To this end, this article advances the hypothesis that the Levites, a group featured in the biblical tradition, may have originated in the group that referred to itself in Greek as **ra-wo* / *λαιοί*.

RECENSIONES

Vetus Testamentum

Emanuela ZURLI, *Giacobbe in cammino verso sé e verso l'Altro (Gen 25,19–35,29)*. Le lotte di Giacobbe-Israele per la benedizione nel contesto delle tematiche antropologiche e teologiche della Genesi. Assisi, Cittadella Editrice, 2018. vii-591 p. 15.5 × 23.5. €27,00.

L'opera di E. Zurli rappresenta la pubblicazione della dissertazione dottorale in teologia biblica, elaborata sotto la direzione del prof. J.-P. Sonnet (che ne offre la prefazione) e difesa presso la Pontificia Università Gregoriana.

La ricerca considera l'intero ciclo di Giacobbe, soffermandosi con particolare attenzione (mediante un serrato *close reading*) sui numerosi testi che delineano l'itinerario esistenziale (più precisamente l'itinerario di 'individuazione') del terzo patriarca di Israele: il percorso compiuto da Giacobbe per maturare un'adeguata coscienza di sé e dell'alterità del fratello e di Dio. Il suo itinerario di "individuazione" risulta collocato dentro le coordinate di benedizione (sia quelle riconducibili alla "benedizione della creazione", sia quelle riconducibili alla "benedizione di Abramo") che segnano la complessiva articolazione del primo libro biblico.

Il lavoro compie fin dall'inizio una chiara e netta opzione sincronica, sorvolando sulla diacronia dei testi considerati, e si presenta come una declinazione moderata dell'approccio psicologico alla Scrittura. L'Autrice dichiara il retroterra freudiano e, in particolare, junghiano di numerose categorie da lei assunte nell'analisi, grazie a competenze psicanalitiche precedentemente acquisite. In tal modo l'analisi narrativa dei testi viene a confluire linearmente in considerazioni di psicologia del profondo circa il vissuto del protagonista. In particolare, l'analisi esegetico-antropologica della Zurli si pone idealmente sulla scia dei lavori di A. Wénin e di J.-P. Sonnet, fortemente interessati alle risonanze antropologiche di *Genesi*.

Al netto dell'introduzione e della conclusione, la ricerca è articolata in due parti e un intermezzo, che riflettono la scansione del ciclo patriarcale in esame.

I tre capitoli della prima parte si concentrano sulla prima sezione del ciclo di Giacobbe, dalla nascita alla partenza da Canaan. Dal punto di vista dell'itinerario di maturazione del patriarca, questa prima sezione del ciclo vede la messa in scena di alcune dinamiche personali e familiari, decisive per la successiva messa a punto (in termini adeguati) della sua identità da parte del protagonista. Anzitutto si ha la nascita della rivalità e della contrapposizione tra i due fratelli (complicate dal loro essere gemelli), fomentate dalle preferenze dei genitori (Gn 25,19-28; cap. I). In particolare, il conflitto esplode a motivo dell'appropriazione della benedizione paterna, con quanto essa comporta in termini simbolici di eredità

della precedente storia familiare e di implicazione nel progetto divino; termini simbolici che ricompaiono nel momento dell'invio del protagonista a Carran (Gn 25,29 – 28,9; cap. II). In occasione del suo salutare allontanamento dalle compromesse dinamiche familiari, ad aprire l'Io del patriarca a una nuova nascita dinanzi al manifestarsi della trascendenza sono precisamente il sogno teofanico in Betel e i segni della diretta implicazione divina nella sua vicenda, anche attraverso i termini della “benedizione di Abramo”. Rispetto al vissuto precedente, inizia così il cammino di maturazione del protagonista (Gn 28,10 – 29,1; cap. III).

Dopo l'intermezzo dedicato alla seconda sezione del ciclo di Giacobbe (Gn 29,2 – 32,1), che sorvola rapidamente sul tempo dell'esilio in Carran (stante la sua irrilevanza circa il percorso di maturazione del protagonista), la seconda parte del volume è dedicata al ritorno e all'insediamento in Canaan, cioè alla terza sezione del ciclo, e si sviluppa in quattro capitoli.

Nel momento del rientro del patriarca nella terra, allorché si prospetta come imminente l'incontro con il gemello, si moltiplicano gli elementi di ambiguità sia nei preliminari che mette in campo sia nella preghiera che rivolge a Dio (Gn 32,2-21; cap. IV). Se l'atteggiamento complessivo del patriarca lascia intravedere, rispetto alla prima sezione del ciclo, un percorso di apertura del soggetto sia nei confronti dell'altro che dell'Altro, tale percorso rivela non pochi tratti di ambivalenza, che non consentono ancora di darne una valutazione compiuta in termini di maturità acquisita.

In questo processo, decisivo risulta l'episodio allo Iabbok (Gn 32,22-33; cap. V). Nella lotta con il misterioso avversario avviene la decostruzione e ricostruzione del protagonista, l'opposizione dell'Altro divino risulta la rivisitazione dell'opposizione di ogni altro. Il nome nuovo e la nuova benedizione che Giacobbe riceve nell'episodio sono emblematici della qualità dell'interlocuzione con Dio cui egli è pervenuto.

Tuttavia, gli episodi conclusivi del ciclo non vedono dissolversi le ambivalenze del protagonista. Di per sé, la riconciliazione tra i due gemelli può avvenire per un verso grazie alla (ignota nel suo sviluppo, ma effettiva nei suoi esiti) evoluzione positiva di Esaù; per altro verso, grazie alla capacità di Giacobbe di vedere il volto di Dio nel volto del gemello, di rispecchiarsi nel volto dell'altro attraverso il volto dell'Altro. Ma i formalismi del patriarca nell'imminenza dell'incontro con Esaù e l'anomala separazione successiva lasciano intravedere la persistenza di tratti non risolti nell'itinerario di maturazione di Giacobbe (Gn 33,1-20; cap. VI). Anche i successivi episodi legati all'insediamento del patriarca e del suo clan in Canaan non restituiscono un'immagine nitida e certa del protagonista, a cammino ultimato (Gn 34,1 – 35,29; cap. VII).

Nella conclusione, tirando le fila del percorso compiuto, l'Autrice sancisce il rilievo archetipico della figura di Giacobbe, personaggio biblico e universale, icona dell'uomo faticosamente in cammino verso il Sé e verso l'Altro: una “storia di individuazione” in linea con alcune osservazioni tipiche della psicoanalisi junghiana, quali l'originaria dualità della psiche umana e la conflittualità intrinseca al percorso di individuazione. Il percorso di Giacobbe sarebbe emblematico della “difficoltà di crescita del soggetto, in continua lotta tra identificazione e disidentificazione, differenziazione e indifferenziazione, avanzamento — nella capacità di distaccarsi dai legami primari, realizzare pienamente la propria umanità e relazionarsi autenticamente all'altro — e regressione [...], tra [...] Io auto-referenziale e Sé trascendente” (532). Lo stesso linguaggio biblico sembrerebbe

accentuare nel ciclo la propria caratteristica propensione all'ambiguità per riflettere al meglio le ambivalenze del protagonista. Peraltro, nel processo di decostruzione/ricostruzione del personaggio, tale ambiguità del linguaggio è funzionale anche alla dinamica della "causalità duale", con cui Dio si rende presente nel percorso del personaggio.

Completano il lavoro due appendici (una dedicata alle "formule *tôl'dôr*", l'altra alle benedizioni di Dio nel libro della Genesi), un'ampia bibliografia e l'indice degli autori.

Il lavoro risulta elaborato nei contenuti, ambizioso nella tematica affrontata e ricco sia nell'attenzione ai testi biblici che alla letteratura esegetica e ai testi fondamentali dei filoni psicologici assunti. La sfida affrontata è notevole: studiare l'intero ciclo di Giacobbe (di fatto le sezioni pertinenti ne rappresentano la quasi totalità) dal punto di vista del cammino di maturazione del protagonista, verificandone l'itinerario alla luce delle categorie elaborate dalla psicologia junghiana, così da evidenziare l'interesse delle pagine bibliche considerate anche per l'odierno contesto culturale post-moderno. Allo stesso tempo risulta alquanto apprezzabile l'attenzione a non isolare il ciclo di Giacobbe dall'insieme di *Genesi*, storie delle origini comprese.

La segnalazione di alcune criticità non inficia l'apprezzamento per il lavoro svolto, ma rappresenta un possibile invito ad approfondire alcune attenzioni nell'auspicabile proseguimento della ricerca esegetica dell'Autrice.

Da un punto di vista formale, l'esigenza di misurarsi con una gran quantità di dati e con l'annessa discussione specialistica, porta a un pesante apparato di note, che talvolta trascende il carattere del rimando o della semplice informazione correlata. In particolare, in alcune note il rischio è di condensare consistenti informazioni circa categorie psicologiche, pur necessarie all'analisi, in misura forse eccessiva (a titolo di esempio, si vedano 332 n. 27; o 441 n. 33).

Rispetto ai testi considerati, la loro natura indurrebbe a maggiori cautele. Come acquisito, il ciclo di Giacobbe è un ciclo letterario antico, in cui si sono stratificati interventi di epoche diverse e che non ha conosciuto una elaborazione (nemmeno redazionale) unitaria. Tale dato di fatto non impedisce certo letture di tipo sincronico, come quella in esame, ma richiede adeguata sobrietà, onde evitare di trasformare inevitabili e magari involontarie incongruenze letterarie in elementi eloquenti; o di trattare il ciclo di Giacobbe come se fosse un insieme coerente e armonico. In una serie di passaggi del ciclo, a non risultare coerente non è la vita del patriarca, ma la narrazione di essa, a motivo della sua origine composita. Senza tale avvertenza, si rischia di trasformare in motivo di rilievo psicologico ciò che non risponde né ad un effettivo tratto biografico, né ad un'intenzionalità narrativa omogenea.

Da questa prospettiva alcuni criteri generali assunti nell'analizzare il percorso del patriarca risultano eccessivamente generici e si prestano ad essere impropriamente utilizzati per assumere in un percorso unitario anche quanto nel ciclo non risulta tale. Così il principio della "causalità duale" è assunto per rendere ragione dell'azione di Dio nella vicenda, il principio di "gemellità" concorre a delineare le relazioni tra i due fratelli, il principio di "ambivalenza" consente di sommare agevolmente comportamenti contrastanti del patriarca.

In alcuni casi particolari, poi, talune letture dei testi non paiono del tutto convincenti: ad esempio, la scelta di leggere forme duali in base al principio di "gemellità" pare piuttosto forzata (cf. Macanaim, 325-326), come pure arguire

argomenti esegetici in base a semplici assonanze consonantiche (talvolta non così evidenti) tra i vocaboli presenti in alcuni passi (cf., a titolo esemplificativo, 330, 360).

Rispetto alla caratterizzazione dei personaggi biblici, la narratologia ha opportunamente evidenziato che i racconti antichi non mostravano particolare attenzione alla loro interiorità, ma li connotavano mediante i tratti del loro agire. La sobrietà dei racconti biblici su questo aspetto non consente di trasformare le loro ellissi in opportunità per arguire (arbitrariamente) i risvolti psicologici dei protagonisti: il rischio è la proiezione sui personaggi biblici di categorie a loro estranee, senza effettivi agganci nel testo. Una lettura di taglio psicologico delle narrazioni bibliche esige estrema cautela e sobrietà, onde evitare considerazioni non sufficientemente fondabili.

Complessivamente, può essere utile richiamare la distinzione tra esegesi ed ermeneutica, una distinzione che non riguarda solo la teologia. Una cosa è assumere i dati di un testo biblico dentro un quadro di significati ulteriore (come nel caso dell'istanza psicologica, avanzata nella ricerca), altro è comprometterli con analisi forzate, non rispettose dei loro effettivi (magari disarmonici) contenuti. L'ascolto effettivo di un testo (questo il compito dell'esegesi, nella molteplicità delle sue metodologie) richiede di non fagocitarlo impropriamente con proiezioni indebite o dentro categorie arbitrarie, non verificabili da un punto di vista metodologico.

Il volume di E. Zurli può dunque essere apprezzato come significativo esempio di esegesi suggestiva, ricca espressione di una creatività in dialogo con la cultura del nostro tempo: nel risvolto esegetico tale sensibilità potrà crescere a fronte di alcuni ulteriori affinamenti metodologici.

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Guillaume LEPESQUEUX, *L'exposition du nom divin dans le livre de l'Exode*.

Étude exégétique d'Ex 3,1 – 4,18; 6,2 – 7,7; 33–34 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe 102). Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2019. xv-437 p. 15.5 × 23. €99,00.

Dans cette monographie, Guillaume Lepesqueux revisite la révélation du nom divin à Moïse dans l'Exode. Sa lecture s'inscrit dans la ligne des études diachroniques des principaux textes se rattachant au motif de l'auto-dévoilement du nom divin dans l'Exode (Ex 3,1 – 4,18; 6,2 – 7,7; 33–34) et démonte progressivement les apories de la composition littéraire des textes et des motifs rattachés à ce thème.

L'auteur commence par un *status quaestionis* du débat houleux sur la formation du Pentateuque et du livre de l'Exode en exposant les modèles les plus représentatifs et en précisant critiquement les choix les plus pertinents parmi ceux qui allient les unités majeures et les suppléments. L'étude s'articule en un triptyque dont chaque pan traite successivement la révélation du nom divin dans la scène du

buisson ardent (Ex 3,1 – 4,18), en Égypte (Ex 6,2 – 7,7) et au Sinaï (Exode 33–34). Enfin, l'auteur récapitule les résultats de sa recherche, à savoir qu'il y a dans le livre de l'Exode quatre logiques de révélation du nom divin correspondant aux quatre moments de sa composition (353). De cette manière, il réussit à cerner la fonction littéraire et la signification théologique de chacune des trois occurrences de la révélation du nom divin et à proposer une intelligence globale du livre de l'Exode.

Ce travail se base sur une analyse littéraire qui a le mérite de partir des spécificités du texte lui-même, de ses stratégies narratives, et non des *a priori* historico-critiques. Par ailleurs, l'auteur recherche le sens du texte plutôt dans l'histoire de sa transmission et de sa composition tout en faisant dialoguer lecture synchronique et critique de la rédaction.

Après la revue des modèles diachroniques les plus représentatifs de la formation du Pentateuque et de l'Exode, l'auteur opte pour l'hypothèse d'un Hexateuque tel que Reinhard Kratz l'a élaborée, Hexateuque dans lequel a été inséré un Deutéronome historicisé au prix de quelques harmonisations. À la suite de nombreux exégètes, Lepesqueux estime aussi que P est un document d'une relative indépendance et qu'il fut le premier à combiner les traditions de la Genèse et de l'Exode. Enfin, l'auteur admet la possibilité d'autres rédactions en dehors d'HexR et de PentR (68–69).

Les analyses de la péripécie d'Ex 3,1 – 4,18 donnent lieu à des idées nouvelles et stimulantes. Établissant une dépendance entre Exode 3–4 et Exode 18, l'auteur soutient que Madian représente un «peuple prête-nom» dont la présence sert à intégrer dans le récit de l'Exode certaines populations elle aussi yahvistes. Dans cette péripécie, il distingue trois moments postérieurs à un Hexateuque pré-dtr s'étendant d'Exode 2 à Josué 10. Il y a d'abord une couche dtr de base visant à harmoniser cet Hexateuque avec Deutéronome – 2Rois: Ex 3,1.2.3.4a.5.6b.7(en partie).8.aa.9-12.16.17aa₁; 4,18 (206). Cette strate est à situer dans une perspective nationaliste, théocratique-prophétique et post-monarchique, à la fin du 6^e siècle. Ensuite, au milieu du 5^e siècle, HexR combine l'Hexateuque dtr avec l'écrit P. Cette couche se reconnaît en Ex 3,7b.8aβb.16a.17aa₂βγb.18-20.21-22; 4,1-4.8.9aβb. Ces compléments ont pour renforcer la perspective hexateucale par le truchement du motif du pays, identifient le Dieu des pères avec les patriarches de la Genèse et introduisent le bâton de Moïse en prélude aux plaies d'Égypte. Enfin, cette couche intègre aussi le point de vue de la diaspora en opposition à celui d'Esdras-Néhémie. Une dernière rédaction, dite PentR, datant du début du quatrième siècle, relie la question du nom divin à Gn 46,2-4 et à la hiérarchisation des rapports entre Moïse et Aaron: Ex 3,4b.6a.13.15; 5,5.10-16.17. Lepesqueux distingue enfin deux révisions tardives concernant respectivement 3,14.15 et 4,6-7.9aa.

Le second texte, Ex 6,2 – 7,7, manifeste, selon l'auteur, la vision P d'un monothéisme inclusif qui tranche avec le monothéisme nationaliste dtr. L'écrit P entend justifier la place et le rôle d'Israël dans le contexte de la «pax persica» et dans le cadre d'une histoire mondiale et coextensive au dévoilement graduel de l'identité du Dieu créateur. Au centre de cette historiographie, «Ex 6,2-8 met en scène Dieu — אלהים — révélant à Moïse son nom «YHWH» le plus propre et lui en donnant une interprétation particulièrement active» (277). Ainsi se dévoile la vocation d'Israël comme peuple sacerdotal, aboutissement de l'histoire universelle postdiluvienne. Dans l'hybridation HexR de cette *Weltanschauung* P avec d'autres textes non-P, la révélation en Égypte d'Ex 6,2-8 perd son statut de

premier dévoilement du nom divin à Moïse et devient un *Ersatz* dont le but est d'encourager Moïse pour lui permettre de se reprendre après l'échec d'Ex 5,1-21 (240-241; 276-278). Outre l'écrit P et HexR (7,3), Lepesqueux reconnaît dans cette section des passages de la rédaction théocratique post-P appelée ThB (Ex 6,13-30).

Enfin, concernant la révélation du nom divin au Sinaï en Exode 33–34, Lepesqueux suppose l'existence, à la base, d'une péricope pré-dtr intitulée «montagne de la divinité» qui fut insérée dans l'Exode par les scribes dtr responsables de la couche de base d'Ex 3,1 – 4,18. Cette *Fortschreibung* dtr contenant Ex 33,12-17; 34,1.4aa*.5b-8.28aba.29ab*, entend répondre à la question de la présence divine auprès du peuple après le péché du veau d'or. La réponse est double: d'une part, la face de Dieu cheminera avec le peuple et, d'autre part, cette face n'est autre que la face rayonnante de Moïse. L'auteur exclut d'Exode 33–34 la rédaction HexR ainsi que toute allusion à la conquête et à l'établissement d'Israël dans le pays. En revanche, il identifie une rédaction PentR qui retravaille la couche dtr de base au début du quatrième siècle en lui ajoutant 33,1.3-5.6*.7-11; 34,9-10.29aβb*.30-35. Cette strate insiste sur le pardon et la présence de Dieu au milieu d'un peuple à la nuque raide dans le cadre d'une alliance unilatérale. L'accent est mis, par ailleurs, sur le prophétisme de Moïse, le rayonnement permanent de sa face et l'autorité du Pentateuque. Enfin, l'auteur distingue trois révisions beaucoup plus tardives. La première est la rédaction ThB en Ex 34,2-3.4aa*.β.5a, qui cherche à harmoniser ce passage avec la théophanie du Sinaï d'Ex 19,10-25. La deuxième est la rédaction *Mal'ak* en Ex 33,2; 34,11-26.27, texte qui est à l'origine d'un nouveau code législatif (*Privilegrecht*) disqualifiant le Code de l'Alliance. La troisième révision est celle des rédacteurs d'Ex 3,14 qui ont ajouté en 33,6.18-23 quelques nuances concernant les attributs et la visibilité de YHWH.

L'étude de la composition de ces trois épisodes aboutit à distinguer quatre moments et quatre logiques de révélation du nom divin dans l'Exode:

- Il y a tout d'abord la rédaction dtr qui retravaille les textes exodiques de l'Hexateuque ancien au début de l'époque perse pour les harmoniser avec le Deutéronome, en particulier avec la dimension prophétique de Moïse (Dt 18,9-22). Elle procède à une double progression: l'une dans la vocation prophétique de Moïse, l'autre dans l'autorévélation de YHWH qui évolue depuis l'expérience du buisson ardent où il se révèle comme le Dieu des pères jusqu'à celle de la montagne du Sinaï où il révèle son être profond de miséricorde et de justice.
- Le deuxième moment de composition correspond à l'écrit sacerdotal. Influencé par l'expérience babylonienne et perse, P conçoit une histoire mondiale des origines dans laquelle il développe un monothéisme inclusif dont Exode 6–7 contient le programme.
- Le troisième moment est celui de la rédaction pentateucale qui construit artificiellement une théologie du nom divin et de la hiérarchisation entre Moïse et Aaron en Exode 3–4. Elle introduit en Ex 34,6-7.9 la catégorie du pardon divin afin que l'histoire puisse continuer pour la génération postexilique.
- Enfin, le quatrième moment est celui de plusieurs retouches tardives, les principales étant celles d'Ex 3,14 et 33,18-23 qui visent à nuancer la théologie des théophanies précédentes.

Le lecteur de cette étude stimulante pourrait solliciter des arguments ou des investigations supplémentaires concernant certaines positions novatrices de l'auteur.

C'est le cas concernant Ex 3,22 où il traduit le verbe נָצַל par «délivrer» plutôt que par «dépouiller» sans mentionner la polémique concernant la «spoliation des Égyptiens», tout comme il traduit le verbe שָׁאַל par «demander» et non par «emprunter». Toujours dans le registre des options sémantiques, l'auteur soutient que שָׁלַח doit être traduit par «renvoyer» ou «expulser» plutôt que par «laisser partir» (214, 270), ce qui pourrait être contredit notamment par Ex 11,1 qui construit clairement une gradation entre שָׁלַח et גָּרַשׁ (*figura etymologica*).

Sur un tout autre plan, autant nous apprécions l'idée selon laquelle Ex 33,7-11 serait une étiologie de la proto-synagogue visant à légitimer des institutions laïques alternatives à côté des sanctuaires de Jérusalem et du Garizim, autant nous trouvons peu convainquant le choix de faire subsister dans le même terme קָרָן (Ex 34,29) les deux sens de cornes et de brillance sans qu'une telle signification soit attestée ailleurs dans la BH (340-347). Enfin, on peut douter de l'identification de la quatrième génération d'Ex 34,7 avec celle des scribes PentR. En effet, le calcul auquel procède l'auteur paraît approximatif (330). En outre, il situe lui-même la miséricorde divine à plusieurs stades de la composition du texte. C'est bien pourquoi le rapport avec les textes parallèles de l'Exode reste à élucider. Mais ces quelques ombres n'entachent aucunement l'excellente qualité de cette contribution substantielle à l'exégèse du nom divin dans le Pentateuque.

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Naomi S.S. JACOBS, *Delicious Prose. Reading the Tale of Tobit with Food and Drink. A Commentary* (Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 188). Leiden, Brill, 2018. ix-274 p. 16 × 24. €95,00.

The volume under review is a revised 2007 doctoral dissertation written at Durham University under the supervision of Loren Stuckenbruck. As an investigation into the Book of Tobit, it employs the format of a commentary with food and drink as its focus and entry point for analysis. The goal is to engage in a close and systematic reading of every passage in the Book of Tobit that mentions food and drink and their consumption or non-consumption. To achieve this end, Naomi S.S. Jacobs proceeds to study the food-related texts using the following steps: 1) translation of the text in question and review of the relevant manuscript traditions with an explanation of the various readings, all the while noting the nuances of important terms; 2) evaluation of sources, background, and possible allusions and their role in the story; 3) analysis of the references to food according to possible background information and how it is characterized in terms of its preparation, distribution, and consumption, how it functions in the story, how it relates to class, gender and wealth, and how food signifies as it pertains to the way the characters resist their circumstances; 4) identification of narrative tensions either locally or globally and their implications for its composition. Shining a spotlight

on the role of food in the narrative of Tobit, Jacobs argues that food and drink not only provide color and texture to the story and help in its unfolding but are also often linked to righteous actions. In the end, however, the project of investigating the narrative's food-related passages is done to plot a further argument, namely that the Book of Tobit is a product of scribal innovation.

The first chapter focuses on Tob 1,6-8, where Tobit mentions his tithes when he goes to Jerusalem to celebrate the festivals, on Tob 1,10-11, where Tobit describes his action of refraining from eating Gentile food because he remembered God while in exile, and on Tob 1,17, where Tobit identifies giving food to the hungry as one of his acts of charity in Nineveh. The discussion of Tobit's tithes, which has often confounded commentators, is enlightening. Jacobs untangles the knots around tithing and makes sense of Tobit's extensive list of tithes by looking at its sources in the Pentateuch and at how the manuscript versions have understood them. The attention given to the nuances of translating ἀπαρχή as "best of processed products" and πρωτογένημα as "first fruits of the produce" is a helpful start. Still, to claim that the absence of references to Tobit's tithes in his testamentary discourse in Tobit 4 is a possible sign of narrative tension is not persuasive. The tithes, after all, are Tobit's offerings during his time in Israel, while his discourse is given to his son Tobiah against the reality of life in a foreign land, where tithes presumably cannot be brought to the Temple. To advise Tobiah on tithes would be at odds with the context, notwithstanding Tobiah's inability to fulfill them. The chapter does show the point that Tobit's food-related actions, either by tithing them or avoiding them in Gentile environment or giving them to the poor, help portray him as a man of righteousness.

The second chapter analyzes the passages in Tobit 2-3, specifically Tobit's Shavuot meal (2,1-7), the avian discharges that blinded Tobit (2,9-10), Ahikar's support of Tobit (2,10), and the marital altercation between Tobit and Hannah over a goat, which Hannah received as a bonus reward for her work but which Tobit believed was stolen (2,11-14). Notable here are the following: the careful attention to key terms related to food and dining practices that underscore the Hellenic/Hellenistic environment of the story, the emphasis on how food functions to serve various narrative purposes (indicates mood, moves plot along and signals righteous action), and the reading that Tobit's delay in eating his Shavuot meal is a sacrificial act that shows his priorities, which Raphael would later validate as pleasing to God. And yet, the comment here that Tobit's plentiful meal (2,2) is in tension with the earlier mention that Tobit lost all his property (1,20) seems a bit of an overreach. That an individual has become poor does not necessarily imply that one cannot prepare and enjoy a festive or plentiful meal on occasion, especially on certain feast days! Also, the claim that the narrative does not portray slaves, women and children in the act of eating does not necessarily mean erasure of the "fact that women, children, and slaves also possess bodies requiring nourishment" (69). This statement seems to read into the silence more than what is necessary or can be proven. The fact that Tobit tells Hannah that "we do not have the right to eat anything stolen" upon hearing the goat's bleating obviously recognizes Hannah as an embodied being who needs sustenance.

The third chapter considers food-related instructions in Tobit 4-5 (4,13.15.16.17) and Tobit's command to his son to prepare whatever he needs for the journey (5,17). Similar to the function of food in the first chapter, Tobit's advice that pertains to food, including the puzzling passage about pouring bread and wine upon

the grave of the righteous, is tied to righteous behavior. The comment about travel provisions for the journey ahead adds a coat of realism to the story.

The fourth and fifth chapters deal with food related passages in Tobit 6–9, the core of the narrative which addresses the misfortunes of Tobit and Sarah that have dramatically propelled the plot (cf. 6,2-6,13; 7,9-14; 8,1.19-20; 9,16). Here, the commentary rightly explores the symbolic significance of conquering and consuming the fish. Tobiah's struggle with this creature of the sea points to the theme of resistance against death. The fish parts, specifically its gall, heart and liver, become beneficial remedies: the gall is instrumental in restoring Tobit's sight and the smoky odor that comes from the heart and liver placed on live coals expels the tormenting demon, making it possible for Tobiah and Sarah to wed. And so, reminiscent of the defeat of the mythical water monster, Tobiah's catch and ingestion of the fish transform chaos into order and death into life. Tobiah's consumption of the fish finds a structural parallel in his resistance to eat at Raguel's welcome meal until he is given Sarah's hand in that both acts contribute to achieving endogamous marriage. At this point, celebratory meals and feasts unsurprisingly follow the wedding of Tobiah and Sarah, a way for the narrative to underline not only that grief has turned into joy but also that Tobiah's liminal journey, beset with dangers, has in fact been a success.

The final chapter of the commentary examines food references in Tobit 10–14, specifically 10,7 (Hannah's supposed fasting), 12,8-9 (Raphael's commendation of fasting and use of feeding imagery in his farewell), 12,13 (Raphael's praise for Tobit's delayed eating of his Shavuot dinner), and 12,19 (Raphael's revelation that his eating and drinking are a vision). The chapter attempts to trace patterns of food resistance as they relate to righteous actions in these passages. The most convincing explanation of food resistance is the case of Raphael, whose abstention from food and drink signals him to be God's ideal envoy who is faithful to his mission and adheres to the properly established boundaries between heaven and earth, in contrast with the fallen angels of *1 Enoch* 6–11. The characterization of Hannah's non-consumption of food as fasting, on the other hand, is less persuasive. For one, the texts do not use the word for fasting but simply state that Hannah "would not taste anything" (G^{III}) or that "she would not eat food" (G^I). Hannah's non-consumption of food is more about her inability to eat due to overwhelming grief as a mother over the supposed loss of her son than about her voluntarily giving up food for a period of time to protest Tobit's optimism. Hannah's non-eating is not an intentional resistance to the body's hunger or a show of lack of faith but rather a description of her helpless surrender to profound sorrow.

Jacobs argues that the narrative tension and seemingly varying perspectives in the story indicate that Tobit is "the work of numerous voices", preferring to view the story as "an ongoing project in a periodic state of textual development" rather than a product of redaction and later alterations (202). To illustrate this possibility, Jacobs uses the example of *The Floating Admiral*, a 1931 murder mystery written collaboratively by the members of the Detection Club. The 1996 *Naked Came the Manatee*, a mystery thriller parody with thirteen chapters written by prominent Miami-based authors such as Elmore Leonard and Carl Hiaasen, is a work in a similar vein. In these two works, one can perhaps rightly speak of authorial or scribal innovation, since each writer introduces new elements into the story and directs it to a certain end. The Book of Tobit seems to reflect a different view of

authorship and composition. Narrative tension, to the mind of this reviewer at least, is not a persuasive argument for such an “ongoing project.” Had the scribes wanted to introduce new ideas or reflect new practices into the transmitted text, would it not have been better to rewrite the whole story to suit their purposes? After all, there are instances of re-written biblical stories from this period. Is tension a necessary and sufficient indicator of scribal innovation? Is it possible that variant readings arise instead from attempts to make sense of a text rather than from any intent to introduce new ideas into it? Are they really scribal innovations or simply scribal corrections? If Tobit is indeed a hybrid text, is hybridity necessarily prior to innovation?

The commentary is certainly valuable to consult for its careful textual consideration of the food-related passages that it examines and for its insights on how food is employed in the story to advance its themes or its plot. Its attention to such passages in light of postcolonial categories yields intriguing points. It is, therefore, a welcome addition to the growing shelf of commentaries on the Book of Tobit. Its future edition, however, could use an attentive proofreader and copy editor, as typographical errors litter the text.

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Brian P. GAULT, *Body as Landscape, Love as Intoxication*. Conceptual Metaphors in the Song of Songs (Ancient Israel and Its Literature 36). Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2019. xxii-291 p. 15 × 23. \$35.95.

This is an in-depth study of body metaphors in the Song of Songs. It is a sensible and level-headed discussion of a neglected feature of the Song’s interpretation and is a very readable book. It is a good example of the successful application of metaphor theory on a somewhat intractable set of images. Gault opens with the point that the way the lovers describe each other comes across as very weird — who nowadays would compare their female lover’s hair to a flock of goats (Song 4,1; 6,5), or their male lover’s cheeks to garden beds of spice (5,13)? Gault seeks to unpack these metaphors in their ancient context, using a comparative method, and makes suggestions as to how to understand them, without resorting to an allegorical interpretation.

His opening chapter looks at past scholarship on body metaphor in the light of ancient Near Eastern parallels and then at interpretations within the Qumran scrolls and in the LXX and other versions. He notes allegorical approaches, reader-response, and comparative studies as three possible ways forward, but he essentially chooses the last of these. He provides some interesting material on Jewish allegorization of the Song of Songs, which predominantly saw the book as about the relationship between God and Israel, but with some, such as Maimonides, preferring to interpret it as representing the love of God in relation to the human soul. Then he considers the Christian allegorization of the Song as referring to Christ and the Church, also noting that some, such as Gregory the Great, preferred to

see it as about human longing for God and the divine/human relationship. He notes that even by the time of the Reformation when allegorical readings were going out of fashion, Luther interpreted it as a political allegory. This goes to show how subjective and culturally relative interpretation can be.

In the rest of this first chapter Gault argues that body imagery metaphors are incongruent with allegory. He looks at reader-responses to the Song such as psychological, feminist, pornographic and so on. He sees these as subjective approaches that often have worth but can lead to many imaginative proposals. The comparative method is also considered as an option — in reference not just to the ancient Near East but to many cultures and periods including Greek drama, Syrian seven-day weddings, the Mesopotamian cult, and Egyptian love songs. All these suggestions for comparison have been made by scholars, and many, says Gault, have value. However, he goes on to state his own purpose in the book: “1. To analyze the Song’s body metaphors with comparative evidence from the ancient Near East. 2. To examine the distribution of these enigmatic metaphors using selected parallels from classical, medieval and modern love literature” (32).

In chapter 2 Gault starts to pursue his “conceptual-comparative” approach. He focuses on four lyric poems from the Song which feature figures of flora, fauna, architecture and agriculture. He introduces the discussion with coverage of recent metaphor theory and settles on three predominant metaphors for the Song: (1) Body as landscape; (2) Love as intoxication and (3) Object of love as a valuable object. His method in approaching passages is first to translate the verses, second to look at what the source and target of the specific metaphor(s) might be, third to look at similar imagery from ancient Near Eastern cultures, fourth to look at attributes that connect source and target together, fifth to evaluate options of time, geography and culture and finally to clarify possible meanings. He applies this approach to all the passages he considers and hence sets up a uniting and convincing method for tackling the material. In approaching ancient Near Eastern parallels, he considers what might be borrowed by Israel, what might be shared by the two cultures, and what might in fact be a set of universal archetypes and hence more widely accessible. In the rest of this chapter he considers two self-descriptive poems in the “body as landscape” metaphor category: 1,5-6 and 8,8-10. These passages form a possible inclusion in the book, and they raise the issue of what the ancients considered beautiful, especially in relation to skin tone. He decides that in 1,5-6 the woman is being self-deprecating when she describes herself as “dark and lovely” — it is not a fully positive statement in light of the fact that she is dark-skinned from the sun, which was not the beauty ideal. In 8,8-10 there is imagery of wall and door linked to issues of purity and promiscuity. Gault enters into a wider discussion of door imagery in ancient cultures, a door symbolizing both entry and exclusion. He posits that the context here (vv. 8-9) is the issue of the chastity of a young girl: if the girl is indeed pure (separated by wall and door), her brothers will respond with a reward (silver and cedar). On her betrothal day the maiden responds (v. 10) affirming her purity, but rejecting their fornication language and their rewards — her lover is enough for her.

In chapter 4 Gault explores images of nature used as erotica. He argues that the apple is not an anatomical referent in 2,3, as some have argued, but rather is part of a wider range of images of eating and drinking, which are, in turn, symbols of lovemaking. He considers 4,2 and the various scholarly options for interpretation, preferring a mixture of three options: “Like a mare among Pharaoh’s

horses his lady's unique beauty and sensuality are overwhelming and irresistible" (102). He looks at the language of "mountains of pleasure" to refer to the breasts and sees it as not merely a visual image but also one of smell — the breasts are a private place of pleasure. The wider context in Israelite society demonstrates a preference for large breasts over smaller ones. Another set of passages treat the "garden of delight" — here both gardens and vineyards. The garden is both a place of meeting for the lovers and a metaphor for the female body, and the two senses are often blurred. The garden is private; it is "a symbol of spring-like prosperity" (121) and "intoxicating tastes (4,12 – 5,1)" (122). The woman's intoxicating fruits are erotic for the man who likens her to a palm tree and the dates that fall from it. Is this about breasts again or about the sweet taste of dates, or both? The male lover wishes to scale the tree and take hold of the fruit — clearly a sexual euphemism. Culinary metaphors are used, and wine can be compared to love's drunken intoxication.

In chapter 5 Gault considers four descriptive songs known as "wasfs". Three are descriptions by the female of her male lover, which are treated here. There is specific reference to body parts in these songs — the eyes are messengers of love and are compared to doves. They also convey timidity, distance and affection. Gault sees these images as united into one. In Song 7,5 the large, life-giving eyes are compared to pools of water. Then there are dark flowing raven-black locks, the cultural preference of the time being for dark, curly hair. The likening of the hair to a flock of goats is to get across the sense of the movement of the curls in long, flowing hair. Other images are of the teeth, likened to white sheep, highly prized as a beauty factor, the lips, scarlet like red cheeks, often heightened by beauty products, and a partly-concealing veil adds to the allure. The idea of neck and nose being compared to a strong and straight tower is not appealing to a modern audience, but the neck indicates life and strength, and the nose is perfect if it is straight. The woman's breasts are compared to two fawns with images of lotus flowers mixed in, perhaps to indicate the intoxication of fragrance alongside a more picturesque description (cf. Prov 5,19). A shapely stomach is also a feast to satisfy male hunger, as are sculpted hips. Gault summarizes the chapter with a section entitled "Miss Universe" — it is an idealistic picture of supreme beauty here. He makes the point that the unity of the book is indicated by the strong alignment of meaning of these metaphors across various key passages.

In chapter 6 Gault turns to the male body in Song 5,10-16. Rather than being such a physical description for its own sake, as spoken by the man of the woman, here the woman is seeking to justify why her lover is better than any other (5,9) by describing his superiority in a number of images rather than his exact likeness. So we find images of metals such as gold and gems such as lapis lazuli, combined with mentions of scent and virility. It is interesting that the male and female descriptions are different in motivation, as has been pointed out in recent feminist scholarship which has shown a particular interest in the woman's voice(s) in this text.

In his final chapter, Gault concludes the study with a good summary (215). He mentions again his argument for the Song as a unity, as shown by an artistic vision that is coherent across the text, repetition of the three main metaphors, and a structural unity on a literary level. For me, the most interesting aspect of this study was the comparative method. By bringing into the discussion not only materials from the ancient Near East but also wider cultural parallels from the Greek

world and from other world cultures, Gault sheds new light on the possible meaning of this elusive body imagery in the Song. This is not to deny that the Song of Songs is still quite a “dense” read for the modern recipient of these images, but at least Gault has shown us the path to a deeper understanding of the ancient language of mutual love.

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Novum Testamentum

Andrew BENKO, *Race in John's Gospel. Toward an Ethnos-Conscious Approach*. Lanham, MD, Lexington Books, 2019. xvi-261 p. 16 × 24. \$95.00.

Questo lavoro nasce da una forte sensibilità nei confronti della mentalità segnata da tensioni razziali che l'autore, statunitense, nativo di New Orleans, ha respirato nel suo ambiente socio-culturale. L'autore è convinto che si debba affrontare senza paura il tema della razza anche nel Quarto Vangelo (d'ora in poi QV). Il suo studio si può globalmente dividere in due parti principali. Nella prima (cc. II-II-I-IV), intitolata: «“Questo mondo”: le etnie dal punto di vista storico-geografico» si approfondiscono le caratteristiche dei diversi gruppi etnici che si incontrano nel QV, ossia galilei (c. II), samaritani (c. III), giudei e romani (c. IV), rispettivamente nel loro inquadramento storico e secondo il punto di vista del QV. Nella seconda parte (cc. V-VI), intitolata: «“Dall'alto”: l'etnia cosmologica in Giovanni», si prendono in considerazione le due grandi genealogie, quelle dei figli di Dio e quelle dei figli del diavolo, che il QV costruisce utilizzando i tratti caratterizzanti della concezione etnica propria del mondo ellenistico-giudaico del suo tempo. La tesi che l'autore vuole dimostrare è che il QV promuova un'antropologia contraria alla “razzializzazione”, ossia alla costruzione dell'identità etnica con finalità di dominio, attraverso la proposta di un livello celeste, analogico, di appartenenza etnica. La novità del contributo risiede in un approccio “eticamente consapevole” che «cerca di valutare quanto la retorica della razza nel testo abbia potuto funzionare nel proprio originale contesto» (5).

Nel primo capitolo l'autore cerca di elaborare un modello euristico per l'etnicità, valido per il mondo greco-romano e giudaico. Dal punto di vista semantico non si possono ricavare indicazioni prive di ambiguità, perché il lessico greco offre vocaboli (cf. *ethnos*, *genos*, *laos*) con significati ampiamenti sovrapponibili e oscillanti a seconda del contesto. L'autore non approfondisce il lessico ebraico-aramaico. Egli ritiene necessario ricavare dalle fonti storico-letterarie criteri di etnicità, confrontandosi con i principali studi contemporanei sull'argomento, selezionati all'interno del contesto anglofono (Hall, Konstan, Buell, Hodge, Duling, Cromhout).

Il modello elaborato da Hall evidenzia l'importanza dell'identificazione di un comune antenato (putativo), insieme ad una patria e ad un senso della storia condiviso, ma può essere criticato per l'eccessiva rigidità nell'evidenziare il criterio della discendenza (Konstan). Si danno infatti costruzioni ideologiche della razza più fisse, se prevalgono fattori come l'ascendenza o più fluide se prevalgono fattori culturali-religiosi (Buell). Discorsi più essenzialisti (legati all'individuo/antenato o alla fisiognomica o all'eredità ambientale) o più processuali (connessi alla costruzione socio-culturale) si ritrovano negli autori antichi, a seconda degli obiettivi ideologici (Hodge). Dopo aver presentato il modello di Duling, che presenta nove tratti caratteristici per l'etnicità nel mondo antico, l'autore lo riconduce alle tre grandi categorie di Hall, intese come riferimenti euristici e non come un codice rigido. Le tre categorie sono quindi: 1) antenati in comune (putativi); 2) riferimento condiviso ad una terra specifica (anche non attualmente abitata); 3) una cultura condivisa o un modo di vita peculiari (*politeia*).

Nel secondo capitolo viene approfondita l'etnia galilaica. L'autore propende per l'ipotesi storica secondo cui i galilei al tempo di Gesù fossero per lo più emigrati dalla Giudea dopo l'espansione asmonea e minimizza l'apporto della cultura ellenistica e l'influsso di città come Sefforis e Tiberiade. Prove di questa ipotesi verrebbero fornite soprattutto dall'archeologia. In ogni caso, secondo l'autore i galilei non possono essere considerati semplicemente come giudei, perché l'elemento territoriale costituisce un ulteriore segmento significativo della costruzione etnica. La Galilea infatti è 'patria' in quanto parte della terra di Israele, abitata un tempo dalle tribù del Nord, e parte del Regno di Samaria. Le benedizioni patriarcali e deuteronomiche (Gn 49,1-28 e Dt 33,1-29), insieme con le figure profetiche di Elia e di Eliseo, hanno la funzione di indicare una ascendenza putativa spirituale. Nel QV la Galilea è libera da farisei, scribi e sacerdoti, ostili a Gesù (cf. 7,1) e l'identità etnica di Gesù come giudeo di Galilea gioca a suo sfavore per il riconoscimento messianico (cf. 7,52). I sommi sacerdoti e i farisei infatti utilizzano uno "stereotipo razziale", la provenienza galilaica, unita a supposte prove scritturistiche, contro la pretesa messianica di Gesù. Un galileo non potrebbe essere discendente di Davide (cf. 7,42). Il punto di vista del QV emerge attraverso un gioco ironico: i capi sono fuori strada perché la provenienza galilaica di Gesù, pur vera, nasconde una ben altra e superiore origine.

Notevoli analogie vi sono tra giudei e samaritani, che condividono il Pentateuco e la storia dei patriarchi, e aspettano una figura messianica-mosaica, il Taheb (c. III). La differenza più grande si situa nella controversia sul luogo del tempio, che per i samaritani è il monte Garizim, con conseguenti accuse di eresia e tensioni politiche. Nel QV la donna di Samaria mostra uno scetticismo iniziale sulla possibilità di Gesù di comunicare con lei, pur richiamandosi al comune antenato Giacobbe (cf. 4,12). Poi sfida Gesù, di cui ha riconosciuto la qualità profetica (cf. 4,19), sul terreno della discendenza e del culto (cf. 4,20). Gesù risponde spostando l'orizzonte verso il culto in spirito e verità, senza criticare i samaritani per non essere giudei. Al v. 22 non vi sarebbe una presa di posizione negativa verso il culto dei samaritani, ma verrebbe solo attestata la loro temporanea ignoranza, dal momento che il salvatore viene dai giudei. Questa interpretazione dell'autore minimizza fortemente il "noi" giudaico di Gesù: si ritornerà su quest'ultima osservazione nelle valutazioni finali. Gli oppositori di Gesù usano un insulto razziale nei confronti di Gesù, definendolo 'samaritano' e accostando tale definizione al demonio (cf. 8,48). L'accusa collega elementi razziali e ideologici: Gesù infatti

si richiama agli antenati (Abramo e Mosé) contro di loro, proprio come fanno i samaritani. All'opposto il punto di vista del QV è che i samaritani siano un campo di missione favorevole: essi possono rivolgere la loro attesa profetico-messianica verso Gesù.

Dopo una premessa che mostra la complessità dell'appartenenza giudaica, capace di abbracciare i galilei e i giudei provenienti dalla diaspora, l'autore approfondisce il punto di vista dei giudei in Gv 8,31-59, secondo cui il richiamo all'antenato Abramo motiva la pretesa etnica e nazionalistica di essere liberi (c. IV). Gesù relativizza la discendenza fisica da Abramo, a favore di una più radicale filiazione e appartenenza, al demonio o a Dio. Quindi le due categorie, giudei e figli del demonio, appartengono a due sfere diverse e non sono sovrapponibili per il QV. Nonostante la pretesa giudaica di libertà, l'autore evidenzia il fatto che le *élites* giudaiche erano influenzate dall'ideologia imperiale e cercavano di essere integrate in essa, anche per timore di ritorsioni romane (cf. 11,47-53). Ciò sarebbe evidente nel racconto giovanneo della passione dal punto di vista di Pilato: le violenze che Gesù subisce, così come il *titulus crucis*, sarebbero interpretabili come un cerimoniale satirico per umiliare re stranieri, nel quadro dell'ideologia imperiale e della superiorità etnica romana. Secondo l'autore il QV decostruisce e relativizza anche questa pretesa etnica terrena, per costruirne una alternativa.

A questo punto l'autore, nella seconda parte del suo lavoro, introduce e sviluppa il concetto di "etnia cosmologica": essa indica un'appartenenza riguardante tutto l'ordine creato attraverso due linee di discendenza contrapposte (c. V). L'autore prende in considerazione alcuni passaggi allegorici della letteratura platonica, come i tre generi della natura umana (*Simposio*, 189-190) e il mito dei metalli (*Repubblica*, III, 415 A), il pensiero aristotelico della schiavitù naturale, intesa come una distinzione razziale 'ontologica' (*Politica*, 1255a, 21-28) e ancora la distinzione tra i figli di Beliar e i figli dell'Alleanza nel libro dei Giubilei (15,31-32), e tra i figli delle tenebre e i figli della luce nella letteratura qumranica (1QS 3,18; 4,26). L'autore mostra in questi casi l'utilizzo delle categorie relative all'etnicità per costruire un'appartenenza simbolica di rango superiore, che relativizza le etnie terrene. Su questa medesima linea, il QV elabora le due etnie cosmologiche, i figli di Dio e i figli del diavolo (c. VI). La loro ascendenza è spirituale, Dio (cf. 1,13) o il diavolo (cf. 8,44); hanno due patrie differenti, il Regno di Dio (cf. 3,5) o il mondo (12,31); infine presentano opposte caratteristiche stereotipate (amore/odio, cf. 8,42 vs 3,20; capacità/incapacità di vedere o ascoltare, cf. 1,14 vs 3,36 o 5,24 vs 5,37-38). L'immagine del buon pastore (cf. 10,1-18) indica un'appartenenza a Cristo che oltrepassa i confini etnico-giudaici e si contrappone a chi non è inserito in essa (cf. 10,26-27). Secondo l'autore, il QV minimizza la distinzione di provenienza tra l'ovile giudaico e le pecore etnico-cristiane (cf. 10,16) ponendo l'accento esclusivamente sull'appartenenza all'unico pastore e all'unico gregge. Il simbolo etnico-nazionalistico della vigna di Israele viene trasferito su Gesù nel c. 15 e il rapporto tra Gesù-vite e i tralci può avere una connotazione simbolico-genealogica. Dunque, le due etnie cosmologiche possiedono i tre criteri per la costruzione della razza, relativizzando radicalmente le etnie terrene.

Questo modello interpretativo — come in parte ammette l'autore stesso nella sua conclusione — rischia di non rendere ragione della fluidità presente tra le due etnie: per il QV infatti il mondo rimane sempre destinatario dell'amore di Dio (cf. 3,7) e Gesù può determinare un cambiamento, liberando gli schiavi (cf. 8,35-36).

Inoltre, si può avanzare il dubbio se il criterio di appartenenza sia davvero ontologico o non piuttosto etico: l'accento giovanneo invero cade sulle opere malvagie del mondo (cf. 3,19) e sulla responsabilità di portare frutto (cf. 15,2). Questo elemento impedisce di interpretare questo dualismo nella forma di un predestinazionismo, cosa di cui l'autore è peraltro consapevole (cf. Conclusioni, 213). Ciò di cui egli sembra meno consapevole è il rischio di svalutare indebitamente sia l'appartenenza giudaica di Gesù di Nazareth (si veda il "noi" giudaico di Gesù in 4,22), sia, di conseguenza, l'importanza del giudaismo nella teologia giovannea, proiettando piuttosto il QV sullo sfondo apocalittico-dualistico delle controversie proto-gnostiche che si trovano nella 1Gv (cf. 1Gv 3,7-10). Se, secondo l'autore, il QV ha «spogliato il Tempio e rubato il suo bottino» (204) per riferirlo a Gesù, ciò significa che il rapporto Israele/Gesù è caratterizzato da due elementi estrinseci l'uno all'altro, di cui il secondo sostituisce il primo. Se è legittimo dubitare della pertinenza di tali conclusioni per la teologia del QV, tuttavia, nel complesso, il lavoro costituisce un apprezzabile tentativo di sondare l'apporto di una lettura "eticamente consapevole" per il QV ed è in grado di dimostrare l'impossibilità di costruire tesi razziste o antisemite su di esso.

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Brian J. ROBINSON, *Being Subordinate Men. Paul's Rhetoric of Gender and Power in 1 Corinthians*. Lanham, MD, Lexington Books, 2019. xi-282 p. 16 × 23,5. \$110.00.

This monograph is part of a growing body of literature which uses masculinity studies to examine NT texts. Robinson's work focuses on Paul's expression of masculinity *vis à vis* contemporary Hellenistic and Roman constructions of masculinity and their relation to power. He argues that in 1 Corinthians Paul intentionally mis-performs the culturally produced and exalted discourses of ideal masculinity, which sustain oppressive patriarchal systems and institutions. As an alternative to this hegemonic model of masculinity, Paul rhetorically constructs a public *persona*, in which he presents himself as embodying a masculinity that renounces elite status, privilege and power, and which, in imitation of Christ, exhibits itself in weakness and in solidarity with those of lower social standing. Paul's model of masculinity, judged by the established standards of his day, would have been understood as a subservient, or failed masculinity. However, according to Robinson, this is precisely the model Paul proposes as an effective response to the factionalism in the community, which the author attributes to the hegemonic model of masculinity espoused by some members of the community. Thus, Paul exhorts them to imitate him by embodying this manifestly un-masculine expression of masculinity as the means to overcome discord and restore unity.

Robinson's argument draws on insights from Dale Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven, CT 1995) to explain the conflicting ideologies of body in play in 1 Corinthians, and he also builds on the rhetorical analysis of Margaret Mitchell, *Paul and the Rhetoric of Reconciliation. An Exegetical Investigation of the*

Language and Composition of 1 Corinthians (Tübingen 1992). In fact, a major goal of this study is to bring Martin's insights about the social function of bodies into conversation with Mitchell's study which convincingly demonstrates that 1 Corinthians is a unified document in which Paul's singular goal is to unite the community and restore *homonoia*. Robinson also builds on previous studies of Paul's use of feminine imagery, as well as recent feminist and queer scholarship on 1 Corinthians, which identifies the community troublemakers, not as prophetic women, but as out-of-control men who embodied hegemonic masculinity. He agrees, and will argue throughout, that Paul's efforts were directed to upending the gendered discourses that gave rise to their community-destroying behavior.

Robinson's next two chapters provide the cultural context against which he considers Paul's performance of masculinity and its rhetorical effect. In chapter 2, after discussing the development, focus, and scope of the interdisciplinary field of masculinity studies, the author examines gendered discourses in Roman literature. Among other things, this survey underscores the link in antiquity between performances of masculinity and power, which was distributed based on one's adherence to the regionally established norms used to define a true *vir* (e.g., cultured speech, heterosexuality, avoidance of feminine gestures and behaviors). Deviance from these norms carried serious social and political consequences. Though few lived up to the ideal, everyone understood what was expected of "real men", even non-elites who had access to gendered discourses in non-literary texts, theatrical performances, and other vehicles of transmission to which Robinson calls attention. Given that, he concludes that the largely non-elite addressees of 1 Corinthians would have recognized that Paul was performing, and proposing for imitation, a subordinate masculinity with significant social consequences.

Robinson begins chapter 3 noting that the complex understanding of masculinity and its relation to power, as reflected in Roman literature, warrants his use of the categories hegemonic, complicit, and subservient masculinities, developed in the 1980s as a way to conceptualize men, masculinities, and relationships among men. After defining each of these distinct masculinities, Robinson discusses the importance of the literary *persona* and its implications regarding Paul's self-presentation in 1 Corinthians, noting the correspondence assumed by Greek and Roman audiences between an author's literary self-description and his actual social identity. He goes on to show the applicability of these modern categories to ancient texts by providing a gender critical analysis of select texts by three of Paul's near contemporaries (Favorinus, Philo, and Josephus). This exercise provides examples of constructed masculinities against which Paul's own can be compared and contrasted.

Robinson tests his thesis beginning in chapter 4 *via* four texts that patently relate to masculinity and lend themselves to gender critical analysis. Each passage is studied within the context of the prevailing elite gender discourses discussed in the preceding chapters. His analysis leads him to conclude that Paul crafts an authorial *persona*, using language and feminine images to self-portray as a failed orator (1 Cor 1,17-18; 2,1-5), a wet nurse (1 Cor 3,1-3), a shameful father (1 Cor 4,14-15), and a celibate man (1 Cor 7,1-7). Each portrait shows Paul embodying a failed masculinity, which positions him at the bottom of the social political order, with no access to the privilege and power shared by men at the top, whose *modus operandi* is, in Paul's judgment, completely incompatible with how believers are called to live.

In chapter 5, Robinson's focus switches from Paul's *persona* to his exhortations to imitate his model of masculinity (4,16; 11,1). Based on recent research about the cosmopolitan nature and demographic make-up of Roman Corinth, Robinson maintains that Paul's exhortations were directed to members of the community who were drawn to Roman Corinth by the opportunities it afforded for social advancement, as well as to members who enjoyed elite status and expected community life to function according to the social hierarchies and conventions which reinforced their power and privilege. According to Robinson, throughout 1 Corinthians Paul critiques their embodiment of hegemonic masculinity and associated behaviors, proposing instead behavior consistent with subservient masculinity. He illustrates this point with reference to 6,1-8 where Paul reprimands those using the Roman court system, a proven means to bolster and showcase hegemonic masculinity at the expense of lower status members of the community, and suggests, instead, that they suffer being wronged. A further illustration is found in 8,1 – 11,1 where Paul critiques their exercise of rights, even if legitimate, when to do so would scandalize the weak members of the community, and advocates, instead, the renunciation of rights for the sake of others. Robinson also sees Paul countering hegemonic masculine behavior by proposing that men submit their bodies to their wives (7,1-6) and accept what is considered foolish (1,18 – 2,5). As Robinson observes, the pattern of behavior Paul advocates would restrict access to opportunities for social advancement and leave men who were willing to adopt Paul's cruciform model of masculinity open to social shaming and to charges of weakness and effeminacy. Robinson also calls attention to Paul's use of the gendered term ἀνδρίζεσθε (16,13), a NT *hapax*, and comments that, in the context of the whole letter, the command should probably be taken to mean, "become *sub-ordinate* men!". In his concluding chapter, Robinson summarizes and briefly discusses the implications of his study, before returning to consider 1 Cor 11,2-6 where he argues that Paul's commands about head coverings grant women greater authority while limiting that of men.

Robinson's study leaves behind the many tiresome and inconclusive debates associated with the study of 1 Corinthians and offers a thought-provoking reassessment of Paul, his rhetorical strategy, and his purpose in writing 1 Corinthians. The author's impressive review of a vast amount of literature concerning ancient conceptualizations and constructions of masculinity provides a framework for recognizing the gendered character of Paul's rhetoric not only here in 1 Corinthians but also elsewhere in the Pauline corpus. It also helps us to understand how the addressees of 1 Corinthians may have heard and reacted to Paul's construction and performance of masculinity.

Overall, Robinson has made a compelling case to support his thesis, but not all of his arguments are equally persuasive. For example, the image of a rod wielding Paul (4,21) fits uncomfortably with Robinson's description of Paul the shameful father whose beaten, naked body and life of suffering (4,8-13) are evidence of his subordinate masculinity, and hence a source of shame to his Corinthian children. To dissolve that apparent contradiction, Robinson, based on scant evidence, over-emphasizes the role of mothers and teachers in the disciplining of children and suggests that Paul was acting out the typical role expectations of a mother. That explanation also begs the question whether the Corinthians would have perceived that imagery as an expression of subordinate masculinity or associated it with patriarchy and coercive authority. It is not enough to insist, as Robinson does, that

Paul's self-descriptions as a failed orator and wet-nurse would have made it impossible for the Corinthians to hear his threat to wield a rod as an expression of hegemonic masculinity. In this same regard, it is notable that in chapter 5, when examining Paul's paraenesis, Robinson omits discussion of chapters 12–14, a section which could have been used to support his thesis, but which ends with Paul's notice that women/wives are not permitted to speak but should be subordinate as the law says (14,34). Would Paul's auditors not have heard this as an indication that he was still supportive of ideas and structures associated with hegemonic masculinity? Would Paul's inclusion of the *malakoi*, soft overindulgent males, among those unfit for the kingdom (6,9) have brought to mind the disparaging assessments of soft men associated with hegemonic masculinity? Is it not possible that the Corinthians heard Paul's self-description as a master-builder (3,10), and an athlete who vigorously trains his body for competition (9,27), in terms of hegemonic masculinity as well? It seems that in his efforts to portray Paul as totally invested in subverting masculine ideals, Robinson has overlooked the possibility that Paul seems to have embodied, and would have been perceived as embodying, in some instances, a complicit masculinity, and, in others, a hegemonic masculinity.

Notwithstanding these observations, Robinson's work is immensely insightful. It introduces the reader to the interpretive possibilities arising from the application of critical theory to a Pauline letter, and should dispel any remaining skepticism about the value of gender criticism in the interpretation of NT texts. Further, it compels us to rethink the many assumptions which have guided our assessment of Paul the man and conditioned our interpretation of his writings. *Being Subordinate Men* is a thoroughly refreshing look at Paul and his purposes in 1 Corinthians. It belongs on the essential reading list of anyone interested in Paul, his social and cultural world, gender, and gender criticism.

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Theo K. HECKEL, *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Johannes und Judas*.
Übersetzt und erklärt (Das Neue Testament Deutsch 10). Göttingen,
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019. xii-304 p. 16 × 24. €27,99.

Das Kommentarwerk „Neues Testament Deutsch“ ist seit Generationen ein verbreitetes, zuverlässiges und viel benutztes Standardwerk für protestantisches Pfarramt und Studium. Seit 2015 erscheinen Neubearbeitungen („Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk“) der bekannten, eingeführten Kommentare. So wurde der Kommentar zu den Katholischen Briefen von Horst Balz – Wolfgang Schrage, *Die Briefe des Jakobus, Petrus, Johannes und Judas*. Die katholischen Briefe (1993), durch die Neukommentierung des Erlanger Professors Theo Heckel (=H.) 2019 ersetzt. Auf 300 Seiten präsentiert H. eine neue Übersetzung und Neukommentierung aller sieben Katholischen Briefe in der Reihenfolge, die die großen Majuskeln bieten. Eine kurze „Haupteinleitung“ (1-7) führt in die Anzahl, die Ordnung, die Gattung und die „Bedeutung“ (6) der katholischen Briefe im Rahmen der frühchristlichen

Literatur, der Kanongeschichte und der Biblischen Theologie ein. H. unterscheidet etwas holzschnittartig zwischen „echten“ Briefen (5) und ihrer Literaturwerdung durch Sammlung und Edition und schließt: „Die kleinen apostolischen Briefe sind uns als Literatur überliefert“ (5). Jakobus, Judas und 2. und 3. Johannes seien allerdings ursprünglich „echte“ Briefe gewesen (6), die erst durch den Sammel- und Redaktionsprozess zu „Literatur“ geworden seien, während 1. Petrus (Gattungsdiskussion fehlt) und 2. Petrus („Der 2 Petr war nie ein echter Brief, sondern immer Begleitschreiben einer Briefsammlung“, 136) und 1. Johannes (etwas enigmatisch: „Der 1 Joh ist ein Fall eigener Art“, und: „Die Briefanteile sind im 1 Joh gering“, 188) keine „echten“ Briefe seien. Die Klassifizierung des Jakobusbriefes als ursprünglich „echten“ Briefes ergibt sich aus der historischen Analyse H.s. Für den Judasbrief wird keine eigene Analyse gemacht.

- 1) Der Jakobusbrief (9-73). H. gibt eine knappe Einführung in die seit Langem extrem kontrovers diskutierten Einleitungsprobleme des Jakobusbriefes (9-20) und votiert mit K.-W. Niebuhr für den Herrenbruder als Verfasser des Briefes. Der Brief „sei authentisch vom Herrenbruder um 60 n.Chr. an Gemeindeleiter außerhalb des Heiligen Landes geschrieben worden“ (17) und damit ein „echter“ Brief. Wichtigster Traditions- und Motivspeicher ist nach H. die „paränetische Rezeption von Jesuslogien“ (16). Die „spezielle Position des Paulus“ zu dem frühjüdischen Abrahamdiskurs setze der Brief nicht voraus. In die breite exegetische Debatte über den Aufbau des Briefes steigt H. nicht ein. Er gliedert pragmatisch in: „Brieferöffnung (I: 1,1-15)“, Briefkorporus (II: 1,16-5,6) und Epilog (III: 5,7-20)“ (17).

Die aktuellen Forschungspositionen zur Datierung und zur Verfasserschaft wie die von D.C. Allison (pseudonymer Verfasser aus dem ebionitischen Milieu) noch von R. Metzner (orthonymer Verfasser des frühen 2. Jahrhunderts) werden nicht ausreichend diskutiert. Entsprechend seinem frühen zeitlichen Ansatz liest H. den Brief als ein „Zeugnis des frühen, jüdisch geprägten Christentums, bevor spezifisch christliche Formulierungen zum Christusereignis üblich geworden sind“ (18). Hier muss die Frage erlaubt sein: wie passt zu dieser Sicht 1Kor 15,3-7? H. muss Paulus gänzlich ausblenden, um seine Sicht eines „frühen“, als prä-christologisch gekennzeichneten Christentums (?) wahrscheinlich zu machen. Gerade wenn H. den Herrenbruder für den Verfasser hält, lässt sich diese Distanz zu paulinischen Positionen nicht halten. Jakobus und Paulus standen in einem — öfter kontroversen — Verhältnis zueinander und agierten gleichzeitig, nicht nacheinander (siehe auch H., 11). Der historische Herrenbruder Jakobus ist zeitlich nicht einfach „vor“ Paulus anzusetzen. Über unterschiedliche Positionen in der „Christologie“ beider Gemeindeleiter wissen wir nichts. Auch H.s Sicht der Gemeindeorganisation ist nicht hinreichend plausibilisiert. Der Jakobusbrief sei in der Zeit entstanden, als noch kein Bewusstsein von der „Unabhängigkeit des Christentums vom Judentum“ vorlag (19). Solche Aussagen sind historisch und begrifflich unscharf und bilden die exegetische Diskussion um den Jakobusbrief nicht ausreichend ab. Wichtig ist H.s Hinweis darauf, dass der Jakobusbrief zwar „weisheitliche Motive“ habe, aber keine Weisheitsschrift“ (19) sei.

Grundsätzlich gilt: die Echtheitsthese, die eine Frühdatering einschließt, ist eine mögliche exegetische Option. Sie müsste aber wesentlich solider und umsichtiger begründet und in ihrer Bedeutung für die neutestamentlichen Schriften insgesamt beleuchtet werden. H. zitiert Herder (73). Die Bedeutung von Herders Interpretation

des Jakobusbriefes liegt aber weniger in ihrer Ablehnung der Position Luthers, sondern in der ausführlichen Darlegung der Bedeutung der Orthonymitätsthese: der Jakobusbrief wäre die älteste neutestamentliche Schrift und würde direkt zur Familie Jesu führen (so Roland Deines). Diese Option erfordert umfassende Überlegungen zur Entstehung des Christentums, die H. nicht vorlegt (und im Format des NTD auch nicht vorlegen kann).

Die Qualität dieses Kommentars zum Jakobusbrief entfaltet sich in der Einzel-exegese. H. gelingt eine textnahe und detailreiche Kommentierung, die stets vom griechischen Text ausgeht und textkritisch und traditionsgeschichtlich verlässlich ist. Einzelne Wendungen wie Jak 3,6 („Kreislauf des Werdens“) hätten genauer analysiert werden können. Hier und anderswo hätte H. sich die Frage stellen müssen: hat der Herrenbruder Jakobus so gesprochen? Die Exkurse zur Gattung des Diasporabriefes, zum Gesetz und zum Verhältnis von Kapitel 2 zur paulinischen Theologie (kurze, sehr nützliche Darstellung der exegetischen Positionen) sind substantiell. Die wissenschaftliche Sprache ist klar und kommuniziert exegetische Detailarbeit. Es fehlen — wohl aus Platzgründen — die für den Jakobusbrief unerlässliche Forschungsgeschichte, die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Vorgängerband und die notwendige Diskussion des „Fortschrittes“ der eigenen Kommentierung sowie deren Einbettung in die gegenwärtige Kommentarlanschaft. An die Herausgeber sei daher gesagt: Hier ist weniger nicht mehr, sondern zu wenig. Kürze ist nicht immer ein Vorteil. Ein Detail: H.s Hinweis darauf, „dass der Jak mit den männlichen Anreden die Frauen mitangesprochen wissen will“, sei nicht erwiesen (20), ist korrekt und sollte in den Übersetzungen Beachtung finden.

- 2) 1. Petrusbrief (75-131). Die Einleitungsfragen zum 1. Petrusbrief sind weit weniger kontrovers als die zum Jakobusbrief. H. hält den Brief mit der großen Mehrheit der Kommentare für pseudepigraph und stellt die Gründe, die gegen eine Verfasserschaft durch Petrus sprechen, schlüssig zusammen (77-81). Auffallend ist, dass H. Petrus nicht dieselben Griechischkenntnisse zutraut wie dem Bruder Jesu (77). Zum Profil des (pseudepigraphen) Verfassers äußert er sich nicht. Den Entstehungsort lässt H. offen. Die Chiffre „Babylon“ muss nicht mit Rom identifiziert werden, wie H. zurecht betont (78). Mit der Mehrheit der Exegeten setzt H. den Brief am Ende des 1. Jahrhunderts an. „Paulinismus“ im Sinne einer theologischen Abhängigkeit von bestimmten paulinischen Begriffen und Themen sieht er nicht im 1. Petrusbrief. Allerdings verzichtet H. ganz darauf, ein theologisch-ethisches Profil des Schreibens zu entwerfen. Dasselbe gilt für die Gattungsfrage und für Aufbau und Stil, die ebenso undiskutiert bleiben wie eine Skizze der adressierten Gemeinden. Hier sind deutliche Lücken festzustellen. H. versäumt es, ein Profil dieses wichtigen frühchristlichen Dokuments zu entwerfen. Stichworte wie „Israelvergessenheit“ (15) helfen nicht weiter.

Die Einzel-exegese ist wieder genau und zuverlässig. Wichtige Exkurse sind: „Plinius und die Christen in Bithynien“ (84) und „Die Heilige Schrift im 1 Petr.“ (94). Manche exegetischen Fragen bleiben unterkommentiert (so zum Beispiel 3,20 mit dem komplizierten Motiv der Arche Noah).

- 3) 2. Petrus (133-173). Die Einleitung in den 2. Petrusbrief ist erfreulich gründlich. H. weist auf die vielfältige intertextuelle Verknüpfung des Briefes mit den

Evangelien, den Paulusbriefen (beide explizit) und dem Judasbrief (implizit) hin. Daraus ergibt sich eine Spätdatierung (120-140 n. Chr.), die H. mit der großen Mehrheit der Exegeten teilt (136). H. hält den Brief für pseud-epigraph und für „ein Begleitschreiben einer Briefsammlung“ (136), ohne dafür allerdings Gründe anzugeben. Während das literarische und traditionsgeschichtliche Verhältnis des 2. Petrusbriefes zum Judasbrief unendlich bleibt, sind die Ausführungen zu der Beziehung zwischen dem 2. Petrusbrief und der Apokalypse des Petrus informativ (135-136). In dem gewichtigen Abschnitt „Die Verknüpfung der apostolischen Traditionen im 2 Petr“ (138-140) stellt H. fest: „Wenn die Evangeliensammlung und eine Sammlung von Paulusbriefen gegenseitig aufeinander bezogen werden, liegt ein wesentliches Fundament des Neuen Testaments vor. Dieses Fundament wird im 2 Petr erkennbar“ (139-140). Dies Urteil unterstreicht die Bedeutung des 2. Petrusbriefes in dem Prozess der Entstehung der Textsammlung des „Neuen Testaments“.

Der exegetische Teil ist auch hier sorgfältig gearbeitet. Wichtig sind die Exkurse „Jesus Christus als Gott“ (142-143) und „Vergöttlichung“ (145-146). Zu 1,1 („Granville-Sharp-Rule“) sollte als Kontrast Jak 1,1 hinzugefügt werden: Die Phrase *Iakōbos theou kai kuriou Iēsou Christou doulos* enthält im Gegensatz zu 2. Petrus 1,1 keinen Artikel vor *theou*, sodass sich nicht übersetzen lässt: „Jakobus, des Gottes und Herrn Jesus Christus Sklave“.

- 4) 1. Johannesbrief (175-231). Der Auslegung vorangestellt ist eine „Einleitung zu den Johannesbriefen“ (175-179), in der H. Grundfragen der johanneischen Schriften (Johannesevangelium, Joh 21 und Johannesbriefe) zu skizzieren versucht. Er führt in den johanneischen Soziolekt ein, der die Textgruppe verbindet, differenziert dann zwischen den Verfassern des Evangeliums und der Briefe („Presbyterbriefe“ 3. und 2. Johannesbrief von demselben Verfasser, 1. Johannesbrief später von einem anderen Verfasser, 179). Die sogenannte „johanneische Frage“ kann aber im Zusammenhang eines Kurzkommentars nicht erfolgreich diskutiert werden: H.s kurzer Hinweis auf Martin Hengel (177) muss für eine Leserschaft, die nicht in der johanneischen Exegese geschult ist, unplausibel bleiben. Eine allgemeine theologisch-ethische Würdigung fehlt. Nur die „Ekklesiologie“ des Briefes (*ekklēsia* begegnet darin nicht) wird behandelt (189-190). „Bruderliebe“ ist das Stichwort (190). Wer waren die Gegner im 1. Johannesbrief? H. legt sich nicht fest (185-188). H. hält das Johannesevangelium für vor-doketisch. „1 Joh ... favorisiert eine antidoketische Auslegung von Joh 1-20“ (187). Damit scheint H. anzunehmen, dass die Gegner eine früh-doketische Linie vertreten.

Auch hier ist die Exegese durchgehend gründlich. Zu Kapitel 4 (besonders 4,8.16) hätte man sich aber eine exegetische Vertiefung gewünscht: wie kommt es zu dem definitorischen Satz „Gott ist *agapē*“?

- 5) 2. Johannesbrief (233-242). Der 2. Johannesbrief ist ein gemeindeleitendes situatives Schreiben. Der Brief hat ein deutliches theologisch-ethisches Profil, das nahe am 1. Johannesbrief ist. Die Themen *agapē* und „Jesus Christus als der ins Fleisch Kommende“ (239 wichtige Erläuterung zum Partizip Präsens *erchomenos*) hätten vertieft werden können. Eine theologische Profilierung des Schreibens gelangt nicht.

- 6) 3. Johannesbrief (243-251). H. nimmt für den 3. Johannesbrief denselben Verfasser an, der auch den zweiten Brief geschrieben hat („Presbyterbriefe“, 178). Dass der 3. Brief der älteste sei, wie H. vermutet (179; 233-234), lässt sich nicht beweisen. Das kurze Schreiben ist ein klassischer Empfehlungsbrief und gehört unzweifelhaft zu den „echten“ Briefen. H. hätte noch stärker die Situativität dieses Schreibens betonen können. Drei Personen werden namentlich genannt. Bemerkenswert gelungen ist H.s Übersetzung von *philoprōteuōn* mit „Möchtegern-Chef“ (247). Die Erklärung von Vers 7 überzeugt dagegen nicht. Die seltene Bezeichnung *ethnikoi* muss nicht auf ein Selbstverständnis als „Juden bzw. Reformjuden“ hindeuten (249), sondern ist Ausdruck einer starken Gruppenidentität der Christus-Glaubenden. Ob *ekklesia* (VV. 6.9.10) als Hausgemeinde vorzustellen sei, ist nicht sicher (247-248).
- 7) Judasbrief (253-275): H. scheint sich einerseits der herrschenden Forschungsmeinung anzuschließen, dass der Judasbrief ein Pseudepigraphon sei (254), ist aber andererseits auch für eine orthonyme Verfasserschaft offen. Wieder wäre es notwendig, eine orthonyme Verfasserschaft stärker zu plausibilisieren und in ihren Folgen für die Rekonstruktion der Familie Jesu, der Führungsstrukturen der Christus-bekennenden Gemeinden (in Jerusalem?) und der Entwicklung theologischer Gedanken in der Linie der Verkündigung Jesu sowie der theologischen Rede des Jakobusbriefes zu bedenken. Die kurzen Überlegungen zu Verfasser, Ort, Adressaten und Abfassungszeit (257-258: zwischen dem Tod des Jakobus 62 und ca. 80, eher aber vor dem 1. Jüdischen Krieg) können dem nicht gerecht werden und wirken eher unverbindlich. H. betont zurecht den „gewandten“ Stil des Verfassers (255). Die komplizierten und kontroversen Fragen um die Gegner des Verfassers und um sein eigenes theologisches Profil lassen sich im Rahmen eines kurzen Kommentars nicht befriedigend beantworten. Hier müssten ausführliche Analysen zur Entwicklung und den Fronten frühchristlicher Polemik durchgeführt werden. Die knappen exegetischen Erläuterungen sind wieder sorgfältig (so besonders zu 3.5.6.9.14). Die Belege dafür, dass bei den Liebesmählern Männer und Frauen gemeinsam aßen, wie H. betont (256), fehlen.

Die Stärke des Kommentars liegt in der sorgfältigen Exegese der Einzeltexte. Die Qualität und Aussagekraft der Einleitungsabschnitte ist dagegen nicht einheitlich und nicht immer auf dem Standard wie die Exegese. Dieser Mangel ist vor allem dem Format des Kommentars — ein Band von 300 Seiten für sieben zum Teil sehr heterogene Texte mit kontroversen Forschungsgeschichten und -positionen — geschuldet, zumal die mit der Sammlung der „Katholischen Briefe“ verbundenen theologischen und historischen Fragen nicht ausführlich behandelt werden können, obgleich H. öfter versucht, Themen wie den „Frühkatholizismus“, die Entwicklung der Jesusüberlieferung, die Herausbildung des neutestamentlichen Kanons und die Entwicklung der Christus-gläubigen Gemeinden anzusprechen. Den Herausgebern wäre zu empfehlen, das Profil des Kommentars — „populär“ (Präsentation didaktisch und homiletisch verwertbarer „Ergebnisse“) oder wissenschaftlich (differenzierte Einführung in die Forschungslage und eigene Option anhand gründlicher Analyse) — und der intendierten Leser- und Benutzerschaft zu überprüfen. Die Herausgeber hätten zum Beispiel zwei Bände (Johannesbriefe und Jakobusbrief/Petrusbriefe/Judasbrief) planen können. Die exegetischen Fähigkeiten von H. hätten sich hier anders entfalten können, und den Benutzern wäre

mehr gedient gewesen. Der vorliegende Band dürfte für Nichtexegeten zu komplex, für Exegetinnen und Exegeten dagegen zu knapp ausgefallen sein.

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Yosef OFER, *The Masora on Scripture and Its Methods* (Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam pertinentes 7). Berlin – Boston, Walter de Gruyter, 2019. XII + 286 p. 17,5 × 24,5.

Ces notes présentent brièvement le contenu du livre pour accompagner les lectrices et les lecteurs francophones sur un sujet souvent austère. Une autre recension a mis en avant les forces et les faiblesses du livre (voir Daniel Crowther, dans *Journal of Jewish Studies* 71 [2020] 210-215). Pour Ofer, la massorah a créé un texte uniforme: le texte massorétique.

Le premier chapitre définit la massorah. Les massorètes ont créé des signes de vocalisation et de cantillation dans le but de déterminer un texte uniforme et précis de l'Écriture. Ils ont utilisé un nouveau support: le *mitšhaf* (le livre, le codex) dont le plus fameux est le codex d'Alep (*Keter Aram Zova*), daté d'environ 930. Les massorètes ont également introduit des signes dans les marges des colonnes du texte: la massorah magna et la massorah parva, ainsi que quelques signes secondaires comme le *ga'aya* (*meteg*).

Le deuxième chapitre aborde les méthodes de description et de classification. En partant des illustrations du manuscrit d'Alep (A), Ofer montre comment se présentent les notes massorétiques. Il se limite à la massorah magna qui note d'abord le lemme, ensuite le nombre de fois où il apparaît et enfin ses références dans le texte biblique. La massorah ne s'intéresse pas d'abord à l'interprétation des mots ou à leur signification, comme le fait une concordance, mais à leur forme et à leur prononciation. Contrairement à la grammaire, la massorah met en avant les formes minoritaires.

Le troisième chapitre évoque la détermination de l'orthographe sur la base des notes massorétiques. Alors que les consonnes sont pratiquement les mêmes, les manuscrits du texte massorétique contiennent des différences orthographiques. Chaque manuscrit fait un choix de notes qu'il met dans les marges du texte. Le massorète du ms. A est souvent supérieur à celui du ms. de Leningrad (L). Selon Mordechai Breuer le ms. A s'accorde avec la massorah, sauf [3 fois dans la Torah et] 7 fois dans les Prophètes. Le ms. L contient 120 différences dans la Torah et 280 dans les Prophètes. Dans neuf cas, la tradition yéménite s'accorde avec la massorah et le manuscrit d'Alep contre la tradition sépharade et ashkénaze.

Le quatrième chapitre traite d'un seul type de notes massorétiques: la massorah cumulative. Elle donne par exemple les mots commençant par la même lettre

et qui sont uniques (*hapax legomena*) dans la Bible. La massorah cumulative est souvent décorative (dans le ms. C) et semble servir à remplir l'espace des marges des manuscrits. Elle n'est ni systématique ni complète. La massorah cumulative n'est pas utilisée dans le ms. A et elle est très rare dans le ms. L. Les illustrations de ce chapitre se réfèrent donc aux mss. B (Or 4445), C, ainsi qu'aux listes de la *Ochla weOchla*.

Le cinquième chapitre concerne les sections fermées et ouvertes ainsi que les célèbres chants souvent écrits dans une disposition particulière: le chant de la mer (Ex 15), le cantique de Débora (Jg 5) et le *Ha'azinu* (Dt 32). La tradition tanaïtique fait remonter à Moïse la division thématique de ces chants (*Sifra* Lévitique 1,1; *Sifre* Deutéronome §36). Cependant, contrairement à la massorah babylonienne, la massorah tiberienne a complètement ignoré ce sujet. Les règles reconnues actuellement par les communautés juives ont été établies par Maïmonide au 12^e s. Il se basait sur le ms. A. Pour le rouleau d'Esther, la *halacha* acceptée a été établie dans le *Shulhan Arukh* et stipule que toutes les sections de ce livre sont fermées (*setumot*).

Le sixième chapitre étudie le *ketiv* et le *qere*. La transmission du texte biblique a emprunté deux canaux, l'écrit et l'oral. La tradition de lecture a développé des différences avec le texte écrit déjà avant l'invention de la vocalisation (Talmud de Babylone, *Menahot* 89b). Un *nun* final, connu de toutes les traditions manuscrites, fut introduit dans les marges pour marquer ces différences. Lorsque les signes de vocalisation furent établis au 7^e-8^e s. les massorètes entendaient prévenir contre l'oubli de la tradition orale. C'est la raison pour laquelle la vocalisation du *qere* fut notée en même temps que les consonnes du *ketiv*. Selon les manuscrits, il y a entre 800 et 1500 cas de *ketiv-qere*. Le *ketiv* et le *qere* peuvent avoir tous deux du sens, même si souvent le *ketiv* est erroné.

Le septième chapitre montre comment la massorah fonctionne en tant que code de correction d'erreur. Il s'agit d'une technique mathématique qui permet de transmettre de bonnes données malgré les interférences. En ajoutant des notes massorétiques, la massorah permet au texte d'être transmis correctement. Les anciens scribes comptaient les mots et les lettres pour protéger le texte. Mais les générations ultérieures se sont rendues comptes que les informations des devanciers n'étaient pas toujours exactes ou reflétaient en réalité des divergences. La dissémination des notes massorétiques et leurs nombreuses révisions menèrent à la création du texte uniforme: le texte massorétique.

Le huitième chapitre présente le manuscrit d'Alep et sa découverte. Écrit au début du 10^e s. par Shlomo Halevy Bar Buya'a, sa vocalisation et sa massorah sont d'Aaron Ben Moshe Ben Asher. Le manuscrit fut dédié à la communauté qaraïte de Jérusalem. Le scribe du ms. A est le même que celui du ms. II B 17 de St Pétersbourg écrit en 929 et dont le colophon est connu. Il reste complet malgré ses pérégrinations entre Tibériade, Jérusalem, l'Égypte et la Syrie. En 1947 il fut sauvé des cendres à Alep et put regagner Jérusalem en 1958 en ayant perdu presque toute la Torah (294 folios sur 480). Son facsimilé fut publié en 1976. Malgré quelques doutes, le ms. A est celui que Maïmonide a consulté en Égypte. Il est le meilleur témoin du texte massorétique.

Le neuvième chapitre explique la massorah babylonienne et son influence. La vocalisation babylonienne, composée de six signes, se place au-dessus des lettres. La massorah n'est pas notée dans les marges du texte, mais dans une composition indépendante. Chaque note est liée au contexte du premier verset dans lequel elle

apparaît. La massorah babylonienne reflète des différences avec le texte massorétique. Le langage de la massorah babylonienne est parfois utilisé par les manuscrits tибériens. Pour la massorah babylonienne, peut-être plus ancienne que la massorah tибérienne, le nombre de versets de la Torah est 22,747, alors que le comput du texte reçu aboutit à 23,203.

Le dixième chapitre traite du texte massorétique et de son rôle dans l'histoire du texte de l'Écriture. Les principaux témoins textuels sont le texte massorétique, la Septante et le Pentateuque Samaritain. Les manuscrits de la mer Morte, eux-mêmes variés, reflètent ces types textuels. Après la destruction du second temple, on observe la prédominance du texte massorétique, les autres ayant été progressivement rejetés. Mais c'est l'imprimerie qui imposa le texte massorétique par sa grande diffusion des *Miqraot Gedolot* (2^e édition de Bible rabbinique en 1524-1525).

Le onzième chapitre aborde les traits secondaires (*ge'ayot*) dans les manuscrits et les éditions imprimées. Le *ga'aya* ou *meteg* est un trait vertical placé sous une lettre. Il permet de déterminer si un *qameš* qui précède un *shewa* est un *qameš gadol* (a) ou un *qameš qaton* (o). Cela peut donner deux sens différents comme en Jr 46,23. La grande partie des 867 différences entre Ben Asher et Ben Naftali notées par Michael Ben Uzziel dans son livre *Sefer Hahilufim* («livre des différences») concerne les *ge'ayot*. C'est à partir de ce livre qu'on estime le degré de conformité avec le système de Ben Asher (ms. A: 94%; ms. L: 92%, etc.).

Le douzième chapitre évoque les éditions de la Bible hébraïque et leur relation à la massorah et au manuscrit d'Alep. L'édition des *Miqraot Gedolot* de Yakov ben Haim Adoniyahu publiée en 1524-1525 fut largement acceptée grâce à sa grande diffusion. Ses nombreuses erreurs furent corrigées dans les livres *Or Torah* de Rabbi Menahem de Lonzano au 16^e-17^e s. et *Minhat Shai* de Rabbi Shlomo Yedidya Norzi publié en 1742. D'autres éditions sont celles de Ginsburg (1894, 1920), la *Biblia Hebraica* (BHS 1937 et BHQ depuis 2004), l'édition de l'Université de Jérusalem (1943-1953), de Korngold (1962), de Dotan (1973, 2001). Depuis l'arrivée du ms. A en Israël en 1958, trois éditions de Mordechai Breuer basées sur ce ms. ont vu le jour en 1977-1982, 1998 et 2000. Deux projets basés sur le même ms. sont *Miqraot Gedoloth Haketer* à l'Université de Bar-Ilan à Ramat-Gan et la Hebrew University Bible Project (HUBP) à Jérusalem.

Le treizième chapitre traite de la massorah et la grammaire hébraïque. La massorah est la base de la grammaire et l'a précédée. Les grammairiens dont le premier est Saadia Gaon (882-942) ont décrit le texte que les massorètes avaient établi. Les premières grammaires hébraïques ont été écrites en arabe. Déterminer la racine des mots fut l'une des tâches principales de la grammaire hébraïque. Cependant la massorah cumulative montre que les massorètes étaient déjà conscients des racines des mots et de la grammaire en général. Le livre *Diqduqe HaTe'amim* («grammaire / règles des accents»), placé au début ou à la fin de certains manuscrits, n'est pas entièrement d'Aharon Ben Moshe Ben Asher. Celui-ci a édité une matière qui existait avant lui. Les différences entre le *Diqduqe HaTe'amim* et le ms. A posent la question de l'auteur des deux documents.

Le quatorzième chapitre est consacré à la massorah et à l'exégèse biblique. Certaines notes massorétiques ignorent l'exégèse, puisque des mots homophones mais qui ont des significations différentes sont parfois cités ensemble. Cependant d'autres notes tiennent compte de la signification des mots, notamment lorsqu'un mot apparaît dans deux occurrences avec deux significations différentes. La massorah parva signale le cas sans toutefois déterminer ces significations. À ce propos,

Ofer parle de «commentaire silencieux». La massorah contient des notes *sevirin* qui préviennent le lecteur contre les erreurs de lecture. La massorah mentionne dix-huit cas de corrections de scribes faites par Esdras pour éviter d'offenser le ciel. Occasionnellement, la massorah contient des homélies midrashiques, comme la massorah magna du ms A. qui note en 2 Chr 33,20: «ceci enseigne que tout Israël l'a enterré».

Le quinzième chapitre aborde la question de la massorah et de la halakha. Il existe quelques différences entre le texte connu par les sages dans le Talmud et les midrashim, d'une part, et le texte massorétique d'autre part. Ce phénomène est bien documenté, notamment dans le *Minhat Shai* de Norzi et actuellement dans le deuxième appareil de la HUBP. Certains pensent qu'on ne doit pas invalider les lectures du Talmud auquel ils accordent plus d'autorité qu'à la Massorah. En général, l'orthographe de la Torah suit les règles de Ramah (Rabbi Meir Halevy Abulafia, 12-13^e s.), alors que les sections ouvertes et fermées suivent la règle de Maïmonide. Pour le livre d'Esther, la *halakhah* largement acceptée, qui a été déterminée par Rabbi Moshe Isserlès dans le *Shulhan Arukh*, stipule que toutes les sections de ce livre sont fermées (*setumot*), contrairement à la disposition du texte massorétique.

Au travers de l'histoire de la réception et de l'utilisation de la massorah, Ofer introduit les lecteurs dans l'art des communautés juives qui tentent de parvenir à un texte uniforme de la Bible hébraïque. Alors que la démarche scientifique des éditions de la Bible hébraïque préserve les différences textuelles et orthographiques en essayant de les situer et de les expliquer, Ofer montre que la démarche communautaire a utilisé la massorah pour les minimiser, voire les gommer. Elle vise un seul texte, un *textus receptus*. Cette démarche ne se limite ni au choix du meilleur manuscrit (comme dans une édition diplomatique), ni à la reconstruction d'un texte hypothétique basé sur les meilleures leçons de différentes sources (comme dans une édition éclectique). La massorah crée un texte uniforme en empruntant une troisième voie, qui s'enrichit des deux côtés tout en cherchant le ralliement à une ou plusieurs autorités reconnues.

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LAUREA

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JERMINI Fabrizio, *La mediazione di Cristo per la salvezza*. Modelli argomentativi di Rm 10,1-13 — Moderatore: Prof. Juan Manuel Granados Rojas

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